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ABSTRACT

The document offers four research studies dealing with the older worker. The first study, "A Perspective on the Status of Older Americans in Today's Job Market," goes beyond the ordinary statistical analyses of the labor force participation of older adults, and deals with age discrimination by employers and Employment Service offices. Also discussed are the frequent handicaps imposed by older workers themselves. The second more technical study, "Age and Migration Factors in the Socioeconomic Conditions of Urban Black and White Women," compares the labor force status and general well-being of older and younger women, and deals with the impact of urban size. The third study, "The Emerging Pattern of Second Careers," considers a newly recognized dimension of industrial gerontology. Increased longevity, the economy, and technological change are seen as factors aggravating the problems of older workers. Comparisons between older candidates and noncandidates for second careers and social-psychological dimensions are discussed. The final study, "The Potential Role of Behavioral Science in the Solution of the 'Older Worker Problem'," reexamines some major issues of policy affecting the older worker, noting that the gap between educational attainments of younger and the older workers has narrowed over the past several decades. (Author/MW)

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New Perspectives On Older Workers

Harold L. Sheppard

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NEW PERSPECTIVES ON OLDER WORKERS

By

HAROLD L. SHEPPARD

May 1971

The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research

In Cooperation With

National Institute of Industrial Gerontology
of the National Council on the Aging

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The W. E. Upjohn Institute

for Employment Research

THE INSTITUTE, a privately sponsored nonprofit research organization, was established on July 1, 1945. It is an activity of the W. E. Upjohn Unemployment Trustee Corporation, which was formed in 1932 to administer a fund set aside by the late Dr. W. E. Upjohn for the purpose of carrying on "research into the causes and effects of unemployment and measures for the alleviation of unemployment."

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The Author

Harold L. Sheppard has been with the Upjohn Institute since November 1963. Prior to that he was Assistant Administrator for Operations of the Area Redevelopment Administration (now called the Economic Development Administration), in the U.S. Department of Commerce. He was also the Staff Director of the Senate Special Committee on Aging (1959-61), and for 12 years before that, a member of the faculty of Wayne State University in Detroit. He received his Ph.D. in sociology and labor economics from the University of Wisconsin in 1949, and his M.A. from the University of Chicago in 1945.

His books include an editing and translation of Georges Friedmann's *Problèmes Humaines du Machinisme Industriel*, *The Job Hunt*, with A. Harvey Belitsky, and *Poverty and Wealth in America*. His interest in problems of older workers began with a study of the shutdown of the Packard Motor Company in 1957. In 1969-70 he edited *Toward an Industrial Gerontology*, and contributed two papers of his own.

He serves as Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Employment and Retirement of the National Council on the Aging, and is a member of the Technical Committee on Employment and Retirement for the 1971 White House Conference on Aging.

He has also been writing on the role of public service employment in the solution of modern unemployment problems and on the emerging issues surrounding the nature of job tasks and their impact on workers' behavior and attitudes.

Foreword

The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research is publishing these four research studies dealing with the older worker to contribute to the preparations currently underway for the 1971 White House Conference on the Aging. Dr. Harold L. Sheppard, the author of these papers, is a recognized authority in the growing field of industrial gerontology. During 1969-70, Dr. Sheppard participated as a member of two task forces that prepared working papers for the report *Economics of Aging: Toward a Full Share in Abundance*, issued in 1970 by the Special Committee on Aging of the United States Senate. By invitation of the Honorable Elliott L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Dr. Sheppard is serving as a member of the Technical Committee on Employment and Retirement for the 1971 White House Conference. In publishing these products of Dr. Sheppard's independent work, the Upjohn Institute has responded in part to interest in his research as welcome and useful supplementary material to that being developed by the several technical committees preparing for the White House Conference. The Institute also recognizes, as was noted as recently as February 1971 by the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), that in the field of industrial gerontology

> . . . available knowledge and results of research accumulated . . . are not yet sufficiently well-known and have not effectively reached the relevant public services, the specialists and employers' and workers' circles. To improve planning and to assist in developing policies, greater use should be made of available material . . .

The first study "A Perspective on the Status of Older Americans in Today's Job Market" is a revision of a chapter that originally appeared in the Russell Sage Foundation's *Aging and Society, Volume Two: Aging and the Professions*, edited by Matilda White Riley, John W. Riley, Jr., *et al.*, 1969. This basic piece of research goes beyond the ordinary statistical analyses of the labor force participation of older men and women, and deals with age discrimination by employers and Employment Service offices which may prevent qualified older workers from finding jobs. Also discussed are the frequent handicaps imposed by older workers themselves, including their lower achievement motivation and self-confidence, which result in their failure to utilize effective jobseeking techniques. One of the important conclusions is that age-

related deficiencies can be minimized by effective retraining programs developed specifically with the learning patterns and needs of older persons in mind. A major contribution of this study is the fresh analysis of standard statistical reports, which reveals some of the conventional fallacies about the employment problems and status of older persons. For example, it is demonstrated that labor force participation data understate the actual number of older workers (65 and over) in any given year by as much as 40 percent. This means that there are far more older persons who work in any given year than are suggested by tables reporting only "labor force" data. Furthermore, in challenging stereotyped thinking about the older worker, information is presented that should set to rest any loose generalizations regarding the "cost-effectiveness" of training for older workers, who, it should be noted, are underrepresented in our country's manpower training programs. The study shows that earnings of older trainees were higher than those of nontrainees after the training period and, concomitantly, that welfare payments to such trainees declined while they increased for equivalent age groups not fortunate enough to receive training.

The second study "Age and Migration Factors in the Socioeconomic Conditions of Urban Black and White Women" is a more technical study, published for the first time. Its value lies not only in comparisons of labor force status and general economic well-being of older and younger women, but also in the fact that it deals with the emerging issue in our society of the impact of urban size — of the difference it makes to migrate to, or to be born in, urban areas of differing sizes. Economic opportunities vary, and the work careers of women depend upon, the simultaneous influence of age, race, and migrant status, according to the size of urban areas. This study is part of a larger research project, made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation to the Upjohn Institute for research on the impact of urban size on labor force participation, occupational structure, and poverty rates, taking into account age, race, sex, and migration status of the labor force.

In the third study "The Emerging Pattern of Second Careers," based on a paper delivered at the American Psychological Association Meetings at Miami in September 1970, a newly recognized dimension of industrial gerontology is considered. One of the factors that aggravate the problems of older workers is the increased longevity of Americans, coupled with a changing technology and economy. This often leaves many workers unprepared to cope with the penalties of such change as far as new employment is concerned. It also increases the probability that men and women will experience directly and indirectly a need or desire to change occupations. The treatment of these issues is based largely on data from interviews with white male union members, derived from a project on job satisfaction supported in part by the Ford Foundation, with the cooperation of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO. Dr. Sheppard

identifies a significant proportion of the workers he has interviewed as "candidates" for second careers. The comparisons he presents between such candidates and noncandidates — all 40 years of age and older — introduce some provocative findings about the potential second-career applicants, notably their discontent with the intrinsic work aspects of their current jobs, their mobility frustrations, and their greater anti-Negro sentiments. The fact that there are few, if any, differences in the strictly economic sphere between the second-career candidates and the noncandidates (hourly wages or total family income, for example) indicates very strongly the need for greater attention to previously neglected social-psychological dimensions of workers' lives. The study would thus tend to lend support to recent proposals for a program of "mid-career development" in American industry.

The final study "The Potential Role of Behavioral Science in the Solution of the 'Older Worker Problem'" appeared originally in the September/October 1970 issue of the *American Behavioral Scientist*, an issue devoted entirely to "Aging in Contemporary Society." In this study, which reexamines some major issues of policy affecting the older worker, it is noted that the gap between educational attainments of the younger and the older workers has been narrowing over the past several decades. Thus, the question is raised: To what extent will the younger workers of *today*, with higher levels of education, willingly drop out of the labor force *tomorrow* when they grow into their late forties, fifties, and sixties? Dr. Sheppard predicts that the utilization of older workers in the American economy will become a major policy issue in the near future.

In presenting this group of studies, the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research is pleased to acknowledge the collaboration and interest of the National Council on the Aging in partial support of this volume. The views expressed in these studies do not necessarily reflect policies or positions of the Council or of the Institute.

Ben S. Stephansky
Associate Director

Washington, D.C.
April 1971

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A Perspective on the Status of Older Americans in Today's Job Market

Introduction

It may be ironic, if not paradoxical, that the emergence of a society that enables increasing proportions of its members to live more than 60 years is the same society in which a smaller proportion of those living to be "old" are defined as wanted or "needed" participants in the productive population — the labor force. The transition from an agricultural to an industrial urban economy has been accompanied by a decreasing utilization of older persons, especially males. And even among older persons who are employed within today's basically industrial economy, a disproportionate number are found in the agricultural sector.[1]

The purpose of this report is to orient training and personnel specialists, as well as interested laymen, to the occupational status and employment problems of older workers. Actually, there is at this time no clear-cut, neatly demarcated "audience" for such a study. In the first place, industrial gerontology is an infant specialty. Second, personnel managers and employment agency professionals (in public and private agencies) expert in the solution of older worker problems are extremely rare. Although, from time to time, we see the emergence of "older worker specialists" (or counselors) in the public Employment Service offices, these are few in number, and their training (often their experience) certainly has not been directed to the problems considered here. Equally important, there is no guarantee of the permanence of this specialty. Interest in the older worker at the governmental bureau level has waxed and waned, depending largely on the whims of individual administrators rather than upon the objective demand for such attention. Nevertheless, the passage, in late 1967, of legislation outlawing age discrimination in employment will certainly provide an impetus to the development of a permanent interest, a body of trained personnel, and a search for ways in which to facilitate the implementation of the law.

This report may therefore be said to be addressed to those in the field of personnel management in general and, in particular, to the gradually emerging cadre of older worker specialists and counselors in the United States Training and Employment Service. In addition, it may interest scholars and educated laymen who have researched, thought, or expressed themselves about the capacities and the future of workers as they become old. Because so many

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[1]Matilda White Riley, Anne Foner, *et al., Aging and Society, Volume One: An Inventory of Research Findings* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968), pp. 40-43 and 53-56.

personnel managers, employment agency officials, and opinion-making citizens are complacent or poorly informed, much of this essay is devoted merely to setting the record straight and to defining this record as a basis for a general recognition of a social problem. In short, practitioners in industrial gerontology are in need of a perspective that will guide their actions toward a positive set of policies and programs. A good deal of this study is thus an attempt to develop such a perspective. Although a few practical measures are suggested that can be adapted by professionals who directly or indirectly affect the work lives of older men and women, the major stress is on "why do it" and less on "how to do it."

The task is to identify and develop the implications for manpower development of the impressive inventory of research findings that is in Volume One of *Aging and Society*.[2] We have only begun to take small, hesitant first steps in defining the problem of the older worker. The next stage (beyond taking giant steps in this process of problem-definition) is to develop, on the company and community level, an ongoing program of special training techniques, job redesign, and realistic counseling as part of a national effort to reduce and prevent the negative consequences to self and society of being an older worker in our dynamic economy.

Contrary to the usual treatment of the employment and training problems of older workers, which first presents historical trends and contemporary patterns of age differences based on national aggregate data, the first part of this report will attempt to go beyond the usual statistics. Much of the presentation initially may appear to be technical and/or scholarly, that is, of limited value to "practical" men and women. But the nature of the topic is such that a fresh look requires both an unsettling of stereotypes and a challenge to policy-making based solely on *averages* and *overall* trends. What is needed is a "functional" as well as a categorical approach to older workers.

Following a brief consideration of the range of external factors — hiring policies, shutdowns, mass layoffs — that affect the status of older employees and jobseekers, three topics will be brought into specific focus. First, a case study of the *jobseeking behavior* of older workers is reported in some detail, along with a consideration of the social-psychological and institutional factors that affect this behavior and its outcome. The next topic, *retraining*, is designed to persuade practitioners of the feasibility as well as the desirability of expanding the participation of older workers in *retraining* programs. Such expansion requires, however, new departures in the creation of special training techniques designed to overcome any learning handicaps that older workers may have, either because of previous educational deficiencies or because of psychological tendencies acquired as a result of "environmental insults" over

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. One.

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time. The final topic, *job redesign,* is a relatively new proposal for the solution of older worker problems. It is hoped that the brief description to be presented of the potentials of job redesign will stimulate greater interest on the part of industry, unions, and government.

The second major part of this report is analytical and statistical, suggesting the global foundations of what may well develop into a new field: applied industrial gerontology. The material deals with recent trends in labor force participation rates of older men and women; the importance of the distinction between such rates and data on actual work experience; the role of education in explaining age differences in occupation and employment; the increasing need for recognizing the heterogeneity of the over-65 labor force; the need to distinguish between (a) analyses of workers as they themselves grow older ("cohort analysis") and (b) comparisons between the statuses at any one point in time of workers in different age groups; the critical nature of the 45-54-year-old part of the work cycle; and the possibility that the increase in the general educational level of all Americans will in the future tend to blur age differences in occupational and employment status.

Problems of the Older Worker

External Factors

The emergence of the "older worker problem" is the unintended consequence of more than a secular shift from agriculture to industrialism. It is also a cumulative result of recurrent cutbacks in employment and shutdowns, company relocations, and temporary illnesses occurring in the work lives of older workers, starting perhaps in their mid- and late-forties. The microeconomics of the older worker problem frequently originates with such experiences. Although such phenomena recur in good times and bad, we have few systematically collected data on mass layoffs and similar events. One of the few such studies, carried out by the Department of Labor, indicates that between July 1963 and June 1965, 525 establishments reported mass layoffs, affecting nearly 190,000 employees.[3] Frequently, such establishments (especially those going out of business or relocating) are in older and declining sectors of the economy and are likely to employ a high percentage of older workers. After many years of steady employment in a given company or industry, the older worker thus unemployed must then join the ranks of other, younger jobseekers and undergo a greater number of obstacles to reemployment. Some of these obstacles are *individual,* attributes of the worker himself,

[3]Robert E. Smith, "The Impact of Mass Layoffs," *Proceedings of 18th Annual Meeting of Industrial Relations Research Association,* New York, 1965 (Madison, Wis.: IRRA, 1966), pp. 204-219.

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including inadequacy in jobseeking skills and attitudes. Some of them are *institutional*, including the types of services rendered by Employment Service office personnel and the hiring policies of potential employers.

Employer hiring policies have not changed much over the past few decades, despite the occasional "showcase" example of an exceptional company here and there. The most recent systematic attempt to provide an overall picture, undertaken by the Department of Labor, is contained in the Secretary of Labor's report to Congress in June 1965, entitled *The Older American Worker.*[4]

The report documents an employer bias — whether rational or nonrational — against the hiring of older jobseekers. More than one-half of all private employers in states without age-discrimination legislation in 1965 admitted utilizing age limits in hiring practices. About one-half of all the job openings among such employers were barred to applicants over 55; one-quarter, to those over 45. As the report states, "An unmeasured but significant proportion of the age limitations presently in effect are arbitrary in the sense that they have been established without any determination of their actual relevance to job requirements, and are defended on grounds apparently different from their actual explanation."[5]

Unfortunately, the macrostatistics to be found in reports of the Department of Labor and the Census Bureau — indispensable as they are — do not tell the complete story of the older workers and their problems. What is needed to fill out the picture must be found in microeconomics and microsociology, that is, through systematic and detailed case studies which yield information on the behavioral and social-psychological level. Ideally, such studies should be longitudinal. The two government agencies named above do not seek such information on a scale comparable to the kinds of data they do report, although there is no methodological reason why they cannot.

The value of small intensive studies. Many smaller studies merely verify generalizations based on standardized Census and Labor Department data; for example, the lower rate of unemployment of older workers or their higher rate of long-term unemployment once unemployed. But such smaller studies may also help to answer further questions. What happens to older workers once they do become unemployed? What factors affect their subsequent employment status? If they do become reemployed, at what skill and wage levels? What is their jobseeking behavior? What is their experience with employment agencies and potential employers?

The findings of several studies should put to rest the easy "conclusion"

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[4]Riley and Foner, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

[5]*Ibid.*, pp. 426-434.

permeating much of the literature, namely, that age is not the "real" reason for the problems of older jobseekers — the "real" reason is that such persons happen also to be less educated, less skilled than younger jobseekers and that, as a logical result, employers naturally choose the better skilled, better educated applicants (who just happen to be younger).

Some studies indicate that even among older manual workers with above-average education, chances of reemployment after having lost a regular job are no better than among those with less education. Wilcock and Franke found this to be true in the cities they studied in 1959.[6] In 1964 Belitsky and this author found that among jobseekers aged 39 and older skilled workers were no better off than lesser skilled workers of the same age group.[7] In the report on the aftermath of the Packard Motor shutdown, Ferman, Faber, and this author found that the older the ex-Packard workers the less likely they were to obtain reemployment in the same industry — auto manufacturing — although such men may be assumed to have *remained* qualified to fulfill the job requirements in that industry.[8]

In a rather extensive study based on multiple classification analysis of the characteristics of over two thousand hard-core unemployed persons in Detroit in 1962, Howard Wachtel found that even when many other factors — education, sex, labor force attachment, etc. — were taken into account, age was *still* found to be significantly related to the unemployment status of the workers studied.[9] The analysis revealed education to be important, of course, but only slightly more so than age *per se*. Even when education was held constant, age remained a significant variable affecting the unemployment experience of the population analyzed. Out of a total list of eight factors, age was the fourth most important explanation for their employment problems.

In *The Job Hunt* it was found not only that older workers (aged 39 and older) were less successful in finding new jobs but also that those who *were reemployed* (including skilled older workers) received wage rates below those

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[6]Richard C. Wilcock and Walter H. Franke, *Unwanted Workers* (New York: Free Press, 1963), pp. 55-57.

[7]Harold L. Sheppard and A. Harvey Belitsky, *The Job Hunt* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), p. 19.

[8]Harold L. Sheppard, Louis Ferman, and Seymour Faber, *Too Old to Work, Too Young to Retire*, U.S. Senate Special Committee on Unemployment Problems (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1960), pp. 18-22.

[9]Howard Wachtel, "Hard-Core Unemployment in Detroit: Causes and Remedies," in *Proceedings of 18th Annual Meeting of Industrial Relations Research Association*, New York, 1965 (Madison, Wis.: IRRA, 1966), pp. 233-241.

earned on the old job. The *opposite* was true for younger workers who generally were earning *more* in their new jobs.[10]

An additional suggested explanation for the greater reemployment problem of older workers has been that their wage demands may be higher than those of younger jobseekers, which might operate as a handicap when they compete for available job vacancies. This hypothesis was tested in *The Job Hunt.*

Workers were first asked the question, "When you've been looking for a new job, do you have some hourly wage or weekly salary that you won't go below — that is, do you have in mind some *minimum* wage or salary?" If they answered "yes," they were then asked to name the wage or salary figure.

There was no difference in proportions of younger and older workers stating that they did have some minimum wage level below which they would not accept a job offer. Slightly more than 70 percent of each age group reported that they had some figure in mind. Moreover, reemployment success among older workers with some minimum wage in mind was identical to that for older workers who said that they did not have any wage floor. At each level of wage expectation, however, older workers were reemployed to a lesser extent than younger workers.

Jobseeking Behavior

The employment problems of older jobseekers are not susceptive of easy explanations. In an effort to contribute to analysis of such complex problems, additional selected findings from *The Job Hunt* are reported at some length. This study is reported in some detail also because it draws attention to the obvious fact that people do not suddenly become "old." In the world of work an "older person" is frequently one who has barely passed his 40th birthday.

Much of the literature on unemployed workers, young and old alike, is concentrated exclusively on the role of external factors in the outcome of their search for reemployment. There is little consideration of the reciprocal nature of the interaction between employer demand or the level of economic activity, on the one hand, and the characteristics of the jobseeker (including

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[10]Sheppard and Belitsky, *op. cit.* "Older" in this study was any worker aged 39 or over, the median age of the total sample interviewed. Even when analysis was restricted to those 39-50, the generalizations cited here held in nearly every case. Although the total number in the study was over 500, including females and all white-collar workers, many of the comparisons in this report are based on 309 male blue-collar workers, or a more limited number of 176 of the latter, after excluding those men eventually recalled by their former employers. These workers had been unemployed at one time or another in a given period of approximately 15 months prior to being interviewed.

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skill, age, and jobseeking behavior) on the other. *The Job Hunt* was an attempt to determine the role of the latter set of factors, especially jobseeking behavior.

The findings from *The Job Hunt* cited here supplement the massive aggregate statistics on older worker employment status emanating from official sources — statistics that take no consideration at all of the *behavioral* and *attitudinal* variables that may have a critical bearing on the meaning of such statistics. It is not that these statistics are impersonal and leave out the "human factor" — to invoke an old cliché — but rather that in themselves they provide a weak foundation on which to draw sound inferences, or through which to derive comprehensive explanations. And without sound inferences and comprehensive explanations, the costly result may be misguided policymaking, program design, and implementation.

When older blue-collar workers became unemployed, they waited, on the average, less than one week before they started their job hunt, and in this respect were no different from younger workers. The major exception was in the case of those workers who expected to be called back to their old jobs. In this group of workers, the older ones delayed the search for a new job longer than did younger workers. One-half of the younger workers expecting a callback began their job hunt before the end of one week after being laid off, in contrast to less than one-third of the older workers.

Once they did start looking, older workers used a smaller number of different jobseeking techniques than did the younger, out of a total list of eight methods and sources of job leads (such as using the Training and Employment Service, direct company application, and checking newspaper ads). This does not adequately explain, however, the fact that fewer older workers found reemployment, since even among those men aged 39 and older who used at least six of the eight techniques, jobfinding success was much lower than for younger workers.

Approaching employers for a new job. In the first month after being laid off, older workers visited a smaller number of companies, on the average, than did younger workers. This is partly explained by the fact that older workers, in comparison with younger, tended to restrict their job hunt to those companies which they believed in advance were looking for workers. One of the reasons given by older workers for avoiding some companies was their belief that they would not be hired because of their age. The contrasting "wide-ranging" pattern of jobseeking behavior consists of inquiring at company personnel offices or hiring gates *regardless* of any prior assumption about whether the companies have any job vacancies. A critical point is that the wide-ranging pattern obviously should result in visits to a greater number of companies, and the greater the number of potential employers reached, the

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greater the probability of jobfinding success. This was clearly the case among the older workers in *The Job Hunt*. Older workers using the more restrictive "prior awareness" approach checked with fewer companies, and they were therefore less successful in obtaining reemployment than those using the wide-ranging approach.

The psychology of older jobseekers. Age *per se* is not necessarily an adequate explanation for the greater tendency of older workers to rely on the selective pattern of jobseeking. One dimension of "explanation" might be found in certain psychological characteristics that could be more typical of older than of younger workers. *The Job Hunt* attempted to explore this possibility by testing the relevance of such measures as "achievement motivation" and "job-interview anxiety"[11] to patterns of jobseeking behavior among unemployed blue-collar workers.

It was found that achievement motivation affected jobseeking behavior of young and old alike, but such motivation was higher among younger jobseekers. Older workers, as well as younger, who did exhibit a high degree of achievement motivation checked with more companies to find a job, used the wide-ranging approach in selecting companies, or tried out more techniques in seeking a job — factors in turn related to subsequent reemployment. Thus age by itself was not as important as the psychological factor of achievement motivation in determining how a worker reacted to his unemployment situation.

Another psychological measure, job-interview anxiety, yielded the finding that age was negatively correlated to degree of anxiety (the older the worker, the lower the anxiety), but that anxiety played a role in jobfinding success *only* among older workers. Older workers, probably because of experience over the years in being interviewed for a job, exhibited less anxiety than younger men about the prospects and outcome of a job interview. But of those older workers who did have high job-interview anxiety, the percentage finding new jobs was lower than among older workers with low anxiety. Again, one explanation for the relationship between psychological dimension (in this case, anxiety) and reemployment success lies in the effect of such a

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[11]Achievement motivation, a concept based on a pioneering work by David McClelland and John Atkinson, refers to an individual's behavioral tendency to persist and excel in situations involving success or failure, a tendency measured by such techniques as the Thematic Apperception Test, instead of the usual agreement-disagreement with a number of verbal statements. For a brief description of this concept and its theoretical and practical use, see McClelland's "Achievement Motivation Can Be Developed," *Harvard Business Review*, 43 (1965), 6-14, 20-23, 178.

Job interview anxiety refers to the fears workers may have when confronted with the prospect of being interviewed by an employer for possible employment. It was measured in *The Job Hunt* through use of an eight-item scale developed from previous research on academic test anxiety by Lawrence Littig, a psychologist.

dimension on jobseeking behavior. For example, older workers avoiding the use of the wide-ranging approach to prospective employers had the greatest proportion of very high anxiety scores.

One more psychological aspect of *The Job Hunt* study — the role of *self-conception* regarding one's age — cannot be ignored in a discussion of age and employment. Workers in the study were asked, "How do you think of yourself as far as age goes? Do you think of yourself as young? Middle-aged? Late middle-aged? Or old?"

As might be expected, 92 percent of the men under 39 called themselves "young," as contrasted to only 20 percent of those 39 and over. The use of these subjective age ratings proved to be a more sensitive "predictor" of jobfinding success than actual chronological age, as Table 1 suggests. While the jobfinding rates ranged from 84 to 54 among workers classified according to *chronological* age — a difference of 30 percentage points — the classification according to how old the person viewed himself *subjectively* yielded a wider range, from 85 to 31, a difference of 54 percentage points.

Table 1

Reemployment Rate by Subjective and Chronological Age

Age	Percent of workers finding new jobs
Subjective age	
"Young"	85
"Middle-aged"	61
"Late middle" or "old"	31
Chronological age	
Under 39	84
39 to 47	68
48 and over	54

Source: Based on Harold L. Sheppard and A. Harvey Belitsky, *The Job Hunt* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966).

But the more significant finding is that jobfinding success was related to subjective age, even when chronological age was controlled. Thus, as shown in Table 2, persons 39 years old or more who viewed themselves as "young" had reemployment rates virtually equal to the under-39 workers also calling

themselves "young," and these rates were much higher than for the under-39 workers not viewing themselves as "young."[12]

Table 2

Percent of Workers Finding New Jobs by Subjective and Chronological Age

Subjective age	Chronological age	
	Under 39	39+
"Young"	85	81
"Middle-aged" or older	63	55

Source: Harold L. Sheppard and A. Harvey Belitsky, *The Job Hunt* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), p. 238.

The complexity of the jobseeking process and the role of institutions. These and other findings suggest that the phenomenon of jobseeking and the degree of its success are much more complex than commonly assumed, involving not merely the level of employer demand for labor at any given time, but the nature and intensity of the individual worker's jobseeking behavior as well. In the case of older workers, it may involve more than the policies and attitudes of employers regarding the hiring of persons over a certain age. Employer discrimination is a reality, but variation in individual jobseeking behavior is also a reality affecting jobfinding success.

In addition to the two variables of the worker's jobseeking behavior and employer demands and hiring policies, there is a third variable that warrants our attention, namely, the practices of intermediate agencies and institutions with which the worker and the employer interact in the labor market. One such agency or institution is, of course, the public Training and Employment Service.

In *The Job Hunt* study, workers were asked if they sought reemployment assistance through the local Employment Service; and if so, what was the kind and degree of assistance obtained. Comparing responses of older and younger workers, it was found that there was no age difference in the proportion checking with the Employment Service when looking for a new job. Although the vast majority of workers, regardless of age, used the local office of the state Employment Service, older workers received differential treatment. Com-

[12] *Cf.* Matilda White Riley, Anne Foner, *et al.*, *Aging and Society, Volume One: An Inventory of Research Findings* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968), pp. 302-305.

pared to younger jobseekers, a smaller proportion were, for example, referred to employers for a job interview; given tests or counseled; or offered training in a new occupation. Out of five such possible types of assistance inquired about, fewer than one-half of the older workers received at least one type of assistance, in contrast to more than three-fifths of the younger jobseekers.

The significance of such *prima facie* evidence of age discrimination on the part of this important intermediate agency may be inferred from the fact that the degree of jobfinding success was found to be related to the number of types of assistance given to the person checking with the Employment Service. As revealed by Table 3, the relationship between reemployment success and Employment Service assistance was strongest in the case of older workers. In other words, receiving one or more kinds of assistance, instead of none at all, was critically related to jobfinding success among older workers. Fewer than one-half of the older workers receiving no help from the Employment Service were reemployed, as contrasted to 70 percent or more of those receiving at least one kind of assistance. The corresponding contrast among younger workers was not as great, although in the same direction.

Table 3

Reemployment Rate and Assistance From State Employment Service

(percent of workers finding new jobs[a])

No. of types of assistance given	Young	Old
None	81	48
One	84	70
Two or more	96	75

Source: Harold L. Sheppard and A. Harvey Belitsky, *The Job Hunt* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), p. 80.

[a]Based on very small samples of male blue-collar workers who used the state Employment Service.

What was the relationship between the reemployment status of older workers and referral or nonreferral by the Employment Service to an employer for a job interview? And, if referred at all, were older workers as fortunate as younger referrals in finding new jobs? While no direct causal relationship may be claimed, two important findings are worth noting:

1. The proportion of older workers reemployed among those referred by

the Employment Service was nearly twice the reemployed proportion of older workers *not* referred (81 percent versus 43 percent).

2. Taking into account skill differences, referred *older* workers had a lower reemployment rate than referred *younger* workers.

The first finding points to the difference it makes whether the Employment Service personnel refer older workers to prospective employers. The second finding supports the suggestion that older workers — even when referred by the Employment Service — tend to be discriminated against by employers.

On balance, then, the Employment Service gave least attention to older jobseekers, which may, in turn, have had something to do with their ultimate jobfinding success. When attention was provided to older workers, the chances of reemployment were considerably enhanced. Thus, although what a worker himself does to find a new job after becoming unemployed is a crucial factor in his jobfinding success, the relevance of what other persons and organizations do for that worker cannot be ignored. The findings of *The Job Hunt* suggest the effect of both factors, individual and institutional; and further suggest that age alone is not necessarily an adequate explanation for the fact that older workers check with fewer companies and follow jobseeking patterns that differentiate them from younger jobseekers, with consequences for ultimate jobfinding success.

Retraining

One of the major emphases in this report is that age *per se* may be an inappropriate, misleading, and oversimplified concept when used to explain many of the contrasts in the work status and job performance of different age groups.[13] This proposition becomes important in any discussion of policy and program issues.

If we take into consideration such factors as health, education, skill, jobseeking behavior, psychological attributes, and intermediate agencies that play a role in the employment experience of jobseekers, some of the differences

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[13]This observation is reminiscent of the decades-old issue concerning "race" as an analytical variable in the behavioral sciences, wherein a social scientist will posit an irrelevant concept and then proceed empirically to show that by careful systematic consideration of *other* variables (such as region, age, type and degree of education and occupation) differences between "races" tend to cancel out. *But* despite such exercises in refutation, the social sciences — partly because of the popular mentality — persist in committing the same fallacy in research, analysis, and conclusion. Just as "racism" as a form of social "explanation" has not really been exorcised from our everyday culture, so it may be that "ageism" stays with us in the employment field and provides tragically unnecessary opportunities for some social scientists to show repeatedly the extent of its irrelevancy.

between younger and older workers tend to be minimized. Given these sets of empirical findings, it is possible to take a variety of policy positions. The conventional position has been to accept as natural and inevitable those age differences in the above factors (for example, health and education) which have a bearing on employment. For years it has been an accepted "fact" that *skill obsolescence* is a greater risk among older workers, and that once they are unemployed this handicap will naturally make them less attractive as new employees. Recently, however, the more positive viewpoint has developed that if unemployed workers, young and old alike, have skill deficiencies, *retraining* might improve their skills and hence their reemployability. As increased recognition of "structural" factors takes place, certain employment problems of older workers need no longer be accepted as inevitable and irremediable.[14]

Some recent experience. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (and the training provisions of the 1961 Area Redevelopment Act) marked a sharp break from the previous policy position of government that retraining — with stipends — as a solution to an individual worker's problem of employment was not a public responsibility. Unfortunately, in the first seven years of MDTA activities, older trainees (45 and older) have been underrepresented. Only 10 percent of all trainees from 1962 to 1969 were 45 and over, although roughly 25 percent of all unemployed persons were in this age group.

Older workers thus are not being involved adequately in the most important program designed to alleviate unemployment through skill betterment. Explanations of this discrepancy must be sought in several directions. In addition to possible *discrimination* on the part of recruitment personnel (which was hinted at in the discussion of *The Job Hunt*), we cannot exclude *self-selection* on the part of older workers themselves, that is, the possibility that many older jobseekers or potential members of the labor force feel themselves not capable of "learning new tricks" or feel they would not be hired anyway because of their age.

But among those older workers who do become enrolled, what is there to say about their experiences? Tabulations carried out for the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty provide a number of findings of interest to practitioners launching training and related programs who are concerned about the potential benefit of such programs to older trainees.

In the first place, the completion rate of older enrollees appears to be higher than for younger enrollees. That is, once recruited and registered for MDTA courses, older men tend to complete such programs more often than younger trainees.

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[14] Riley and Foner, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 440-442.

Second, the type of training received by all older trainees (including non-completers) is not identical with the training of other trainees, as indicated by the relevant comparisons in Table 4. Relationships indicated in the table are consistent with national data on the employed labor force. The relation-

Table 4

Content of MDTA Institutional Training Courses by Age of Enrollee, 1965

(percentage distribution)

Content	All ages	45 +	Under 22
Technical and subprofessional	9	11	8
Clerical and sales	24	22	26
Service	15	20	15
Agriculture	4	11	2
Skilled	28	23	27
Semiskilled	19	12	22

Source: U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, *Examination of the War on Poverty*, Staff and Consultant Reports (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), Vol. II, Table H-4, p. 308.

ship between agriculture and employment of older persons is revealed, for one out of every nine older trainees was registered in courses related to agricultural employment, in contrast to but one out of every 25 for the total group, and one out of every 50 youths. However, these contrasts may be primarily due to the fact that rural areas tend to have older populations. If we concentrate only on the nonagricultural types of training, we find that in comparison with the total group of trainees, older workers are clearly *over*represented in service-type occupational training, slightly so in technical and subprofessional job training, and equally represented in clerical and sales training — but *under*represented in blue-collar training. We can only speculate on these differences in the job-training distribution according to age. The fact that a lower proportion of older trainees has been enrolled in blue-collar production training may partly be due to patterns of age discrimination in hiring more characteristic of manufacturing industries than of other sectors of the economy.

As shown in Table 5, this speculation of industry differentials in age discrimination tends to be supported by the fact that, for each of the three years reported, among those older workers completing blue-collar training, the proportions actually employed in such occupations are below the average for all

trainees, and for youths. Nevertheless, there is a suggestion in these data that, along with other blue-collar trainees of lower ages, the older persons' placement rate in training-related jobs increased from 1964 to 1966. The same trend was noticeable for service, clerical, and sales trainees.

Table 5

Training-Related Employment Among Completers of MDTA Institutional Courses for Blue-Collar Workers
(percent employed in jobs related to training)

Year	Skilled			Semiskilled		
	All ages	45+	Under 22	All ages	45+	Under 22
1964	56	42	58	50	38	48
1965	56	40	56	52	42	50
1966	62	48	59	62	55	59

Source: U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, *Examination of the War on Poverty*, Staff and Consultant Reports (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), Vol. II, Tables H-12 and H-13, pp. 311-313.

Third, once older workers complete their training, the odds for obtaining employment in occupations related to training content are nearly six out of 10, only slightly less than for all trainees.

The fourth and perhaps most important finding is with regard to the employment status of the older trainees over a period of time. The cumulative record through April 1966 shows that one year after completing their training, 81 percent were employed; 13 percent, unemployed; and 6 percent had left the labor force. As indicated by Table 6, such proportions turn out to be almost the same as those for the youngest and the total group of MDTA completers.

Despite this record of relative success, and despite the admitted need for the retraining of older workers (especially those unemployed, but also those in industries and companies with high displacement risks), we cannot overemphasize the policy implications of the fact that "the current retraining revolution has largely passed them by.[15]

The benefits of training. The critical nature of this neglect of older workers is further highlighted when we consider the kinds of differences that training

[15]Gerald G. Somers, "Evaluation of Work Experience and Training of Older Workers," report to the National Council on the Aging, 1967, mimeographed, p. 26.

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makes for such persons. According to Somers' analysis,[16] older workers under MDTA improved their employment experience, their posttraining job status (compared to other older workers who did not get retrained) and, despite their fewer years of formal education, their employment opportunities.

Table 6

Employment Status of MDTA Trainees One Year After Completion of Training

(percentage distribution)

Employment status	All ages	45+	Under 22
Employed	83	81	80
Unemployed	11	13	10
Out of labor force	6	6	10

Source: U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, *Examination of the War on Poverty*, Staff and Consultant Reports (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), Vol. II, Table M, p. 333.

While the analysis by Somers of other data is preliminary and based only on experiences within one state (West Virginia), one further set of findings is pertinent to the policy issues concerning the retraining and reemployability of older workers. First, *regardless* of age and education, the earnings of trainees were higher than those of nontrainees in the posttraining period. Second, "in all of the age categories, those who completed retraining were able to reduce their dependency on social welfare payments within 6 months of their completion date. . . . In the 45-and-over category, non-applicants (for training) experienced an increase in social payments at the same time as the trainees experienced a significant decline."[17]

Given the current preoccupation of government with "cost-benefit" analyses, such improvements illustrate, if not demonstrate, the concrete value of "salvaging" the personal and work lives of older men and women through broader and more effective programs of retraining.

Beyond recognizing advantages accruing to the company through the employment and training of older workers, practitioners should also be appreciative of another level of benefit, namely, that of the community and economy of which they and their companies and agencies are a part. Rarely do we

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

confront the question (of wider relevance than the issue of older workers), what does it cost *not* to do something — in this case, not to train and/or employ workers over a given age? Training can make a difference, not only for the individual older worker involved, but also for other members of the same community and economy. Retrained older workers not only become more active consumers; they also become taxpayers, and their dependency on welfare programs is reduced. This improved status, furthermore, contributes to the morale base of a stable social order.

New methods for older workers. The retraining of older workers may require some changes in traditional methods of training in order to adjust the *institution* (in this case, education) to the individual. The point here is that many more older persons can learn new skills if teaching methods are designed to cope with whatever learning problems characterize the older trainee. In the past few years a spurt of activity in this particular area may be discerned, which contains potential for changes in the traditional outlook and practices of educators and employers. Officials in public and private organizations need to become informed of advanced special training methods for persons traditionally labeled as "untrainable." Only now are we beginning to consider the possibility that to a very large extent the fault may lie with the teachers and trainers — not with their pupils.

The most notable example of the new thinking is to be found in the research and conference programs stimulated by Solomon Barkin[18] for the Social Affairs Division of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). R. M. Belbin's work is of special significance, and his *Training Methods for Older Workers*[19] deserves wide attention on the part of vocational educators, trade unions, employers, and government agencies. He has been actively engaged in redesigning training methods for specific occupations both in Europe and in the United States.

But few and far between are those efforts aimed at training older persons through special training techniques. Unfortunately, the overwhelming emphasis in learning theory and teaching practice for adults in this and other modern societies has been based on experience with youths, starting with nursery school infants. (The same has been said of counseling, too.) Because of this bias, it should be no surprise that attempts to train older workers through traditional teaching methods have been relatively unsuccessful.

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[18]Currently on the faculty of the University of Massachusetts, Department of Economics.

[19]R. M. Belbin, *Training Methods for Older Workers* (Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1965).

Belbin's comments on typical laboratory experiments on learning and aging are worth repeating:

(i) Experimental studies of learning have often been based on highly artificial tasks, chosen to minimize the effect of prior knowledge in the learning situation. It has been established, however, that older adults react unfavourably to being presented with tasks that appear to them strange and meaningless. Thus, some of the apparent decline in performance is known to be a function of reaction to the nature of the material.

(ii) Older persons are usually out of practice in learning. Measurements, therefore, refer largely to initial or immediate ability rather than to potential learning ability.

(iii) The majority of studies on human learning ability have been carried out without any attempt being made to adapt the method of training and instruction to the needs of the older subject.[20]

Belbin's studies support the results of a statistical analysis, discussed below, that when such factors as education are held constant, age differences tend to diminish. Belbin describes, for example, the retraining of oil refinery production workers wherein "the differences in attainment between age groups were very nearly eliminated when comparison was confined to trainees having the same number of years of formal schooling."[21] The same was true in the case of inexperienced aircraft production workers who were trained through a succession of skills.[22] Neither in these nor in some other projects cited by Belbin were the older trainees given any special treatment or instruction. In contrast, a study of a Yorkshire steel firm concluded that

> . . . older trainees tend to absorb what they see rather than what they hear, and it was decided accordingly that lecturing should be minimized and that initial training should consist of simulated exercises, working to a written brief with models of control panels, furnaces, and so on. . . . The simulation training was considered highly successful and after a period of practical training on similar processes in other factories, the men were able to operate the new plant as soon as it came into commission.[23]

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Lest the reader have a misconception about the ages involved in such case studies, it should be noted that many of the workers were in their thirties or forties, and were considered at first as having "lower learning potentials" than men and women in their twenties.

Given appropriate conditions and methods of training, age differences in actual performance tend to be minimized. The value of Belbin's work is that he has sought, first of all, to account for the presumed lower learning potentials of older workers in terms of the particular teaching method used. The challenge is thus presented to our educational system. Second, he has been culling relevant vocational performance investigations in order to identify principles and techniques crucial for the effective instruction of older persons. Third, he has attempted to apply these principles and techniques in experimental settings to test and demonstrate their value in comparison with traditional teaching approaches. Each new experiment calls for tailormade instructions in keeping with the particular task to be taught and learned, and with the particular attributes of the trainees involved. Needless to say, it very often happens that the new techniques useful in enhancing the learning of older workers also produce beneficial results among younger workers. For example, in a British post office training project,[24] only 26 percent of older trainees (aged 35 and over) trained in the traditional method passed the entry test, in contrast to 54 percent taught under the new experimental method designed by Belbin. For trainees under 35 the corresponding percentages were 52 and 75.

Belbin's analysis and experimentation has led him to formulate a number of general principles aimed at overcoming the problems of training older workers. They are as shown on the following page.

In the United States, as part of the overall OECD effort to stimulate interest in the challenge of training older workers, Belbin designed and monitored a number of courses on an experimental basis in New Haven, Connecticut, sponsored by the United States Department of Labor. The experiment was unique in that the trainees involved were essentially drawn from the hard-core unemployed male population, including nonwhites and rural migrants. The teaching of such skills as machine operation through Belbin's "discovery" method produced results among the older workers (aged 40 and older) superior to those among older workers taught through traditional instruction, in every type of comparison (such as accuracy of measurement, completion rates, and amount of time taken to carry out test assignments on the machine).

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[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

Procedures for Overcoming Difficulties[25]

Difficulties Increase with Age	*Suggestions as to How the Training Programme Could Be Suitably Adapted*
1. When tasks involve the need for memorizing	(a) Avoid the need for conscious memorization. This may often be accomplished by making use of cues which guide the trainee. But the timing and placing of these cues is critical.
	(b) Use a method which involves learning a task as a whole rather than a method which breaks down a task into discrete parts. If a task has to be learned in parts, these parts should be learned in cumulative stages.
	(c) Ensure consolidation of learning before passing on to the next task or the next part of the same task.
2. When there is "interference" from other activities or from other learning	(a) Restrict the range of activities covered in the course.
	(b) Employ longer learning sessions than is customary for younger trainees.
	(c) Vary the method of learning rather than the content of the course.
3. When there is need to "unlearn" something for which the older learner has a predilection	(a) Ensure correct learning.
	(b) Employ automatic feedback system to convince the older learner of his errors.
4. When there is need to translate information from one medium to another	(a) Avoid the use of visual aids which necessitate a change of logic or a change in the place of presentation.
	(b) If simulators or training devices are to be used, then they must be designed to enable learning to be directly related to practice.
5. When tasks are "paced"	(a) Allow the older learner to proceed at his own pace.
	(b) Allow him to structure his own programme within certain defined limits.
	(c) Aim at his beating his own targets rather than those of others.
6. As tasks become more complex	(a) Allow for learning by easy stages of increasing complexity.
7. When the trainee lacks confidence	(a) Use written instructions.
	(b) Avoid the use of production material too soon in the course.
	(c) Provide larger induction periods.
8. When learning becomes mentally passive	(a) Use an open situation which admits discovery learning.
	(b) Employ meaningful material and tasks which are sufficiently challenging to an adult.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

Finally, Belbin argues that in seeking to induce an older person to enter into new training or employment situations, the specialist must be alert to the possibility that anxiety and lack of self-confidence — rather than actual or potential "learning capacity" *per se* — may be the factor inhibiting acceptance of the new situation. Because of this, the successful practitioner cannot rely merely on mass impersonal announcements of training and upgrading opportunities in the company or community. As Belbin has stated, "The mere provision of facilities is not sufficient to attract older adults to learn."[26] It is at this juncture that direct contact — of the sort presumably provided by qualified older worker counselors — becomes indispensable.

To summarize, the employment problems of older workers can be substantially alleviated by establishing a number of prerequisites: if presumed skill obsolescence can be compensated through retraining; if new training methods are developed to meet learning needs; if intermediate agencies such as Employment Service offices develop capabilities and policies designed for the older jobseekers; and if legislation effectively prohibiting age discrimination in employment is enacted.

Job Redesign

Very little recognition has been given to the potentials of *job redesign,* although the OECD has carried out pioneering studies in this sphere of innovation.[27] More recently, the United States Department of Labor has published 10 case studies in a 1967 report, *Job Redesign for Older Workers.* This report indicates that few of the one thousand largest American industrial corporations have redesigned jobs specifically for older workers. Instead, they have adopted such practices as reassigning older workers to less strenuous jobs; setting aside specific types of jobs for them; and resorting to "early retirement plans to handle aging workers' declining capacity." On the other hand, when jobs have been redesigned, the results have almost invariably been favorable. Three points from this report are of special interest: (1) the process of job redesign has typically been carried out through the informal actions of plant supervisors rather than through formal programs; (2) the process has involved very small money costs for new equipment; and (3) "scarcely any loss in output due to work interruption" has been reported. Clearly, this new approach to the work problems of older people has great promise.

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[26] *Ibid.,* p. 26.

[27] Stephen Griew, *Job Redesign: The Application of Biological Data on Aging to the Design of Equipment and the Organization of Work* (Paris: OECD, 1964); and the final report by OECD, *Job Redesign and Occupational Training for Older Workers* (Paris: OECD, 1965).

The Statistics Reconsidered

The preceding material has been on a relatively practical and descriptive level, and its purpose has been chiefly to inform administrators and practitioners of the value and the possibility of special programs for older workers. Planning and implementation of such programs will often require a macroscopic consideration of the nature of the older work force and of the potential labor force represented by the older population. We now turn, therefore, to a reconsideration of the statistical trends and their implications.[25]

As we have already noted, the American labor force has become decreasingly composed of older persons. Among males, this is true of those 55-64, as well as those 65 and older. In 1950 males 55-64 years old constituted 12.8 percent of the total male labor force — and projections for 1975 indicate a further decline to 10.5 percent.

Trends in Review

Although most of the literature on the older worker has typically focused on those 65 and older, the discussion above suggests that we will need to give greater attention than previously to trends for workers under 65. For example, there has been a gradual decline since 1950 in the labor force participation rate of men between the ages of 55 and 64; between 1950 and 1969, their participation rate declined from 87 to 83 percent. Individual employment problems related to aging begin to emerge even earlier than age 55.

The age group of critical interest regarding trends in labor force participation, however, is the traditional 65 and older category, and for this group the projected trends from 1950 to 1975 show the following:

1. As a percent of the total labor force, there will be a decline from 4.7 in 1950 to 3.5 in 1975; among men only, from 3.8 to 2.2.
2. In 1950 about 46 out of every 100 older men were either working or seeking work. By 1965 this proportion had dropped sharply to 27, and by 1975, it is expected to decline to 23. In other words, in a quarter of a century, we can expect a reduction of the labor force participation rate for elderly men (65 and older) by exactly one-half.
3. Contrary to male trends, elderly female representation in the total labor force rose from less than 1 percent in 1950 to 1.2 percent in 1965, and is expected to increase slightly to 1.3 percent in 1975. Because of the greater participation of women generally in the labor force, the pro-

[25]Matilda White Riley, Anne Foner, *et al., Aging and Society, Volume One: An Inventory of Research Findings* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968), pp. 42-43, 53-54.

portion of the female labor force representing older women is expected to decline slightly from 3.7 percent in 1965 to 3.6 percent in 1975. However, in 1950 the rate was only 3.1 percent.

4. Despite general trends of increased labor force participation among females, the participation rate for those 65 and older has remained relatively constant and will probably continue at slightly less than 10 percent.

It is not merely that the labor force participation *rate* of elderly men has declined over the past decades, and will continue to do so, but the *numbers* of workers aged 65 and older have also decreased. In 1950 slightly fewer than 2.5 million elderly men were in the labor force. By 1965 the number was down to 2.1 million, and the projections for 1975 indicate approximately 2 million.

Aging versus intergenerational comparisons. Such trends are useful in suggesting generational comparisons in labor force experience, but they cannot be used with any great certainty to tell us what happens to workers as they grow older. The elderly workers of the year 1950 are not the same elderly workers of the year 1965 or 1975.[29] Unfortunately, we do not have any longitudinal manpower studies concentrating on the employment experiences of a cohort of individuals as they age during a 10-to-20-year period.

Nevertheless, some inferences may be drawn from a cohort analysis of aggregate data published by the Department of Labor which contain, for example, (1) the labor force status of a given age group in one year and also (2) the status of an age group 10 years older a decade later. These data suggest very strongly that as workers grow older, starting perhaps in their mid-forties, they undergo a number of significant employment experiences. For example, if we take only those males born during 1916-1925, and examine their labor force participation rate in 1950 (when they were 25-34 years old) and then check the 1960 rate of the group 10 years older, as well as the projected rates for 1970 and 1980 for the 45-54 and 55-64 age groups respectively, we find the trend shown in Table 7. For men 25-34 years old in 1950, 96 percent were in the labor force at that time. Ten years later, 98 percent of these men still alive were in the labor force, but by 1980, it is expected that only 84 percent of the "survivors" will be in the labor force.

This expectation appears to be verified by past reality: in 1959, 958 out of every 1,000 men 45-54 years old were in the labor force, but in 1969, out of every 1,000 men who were 10 years older (55-64) only 834 were still labor force participants. Indeed, the actual experience from 1959 to 1969

[29] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 7-11.

Table 7

Labor Force Participation Rates 1950 to 1980 for Males Born During 1916-1925

(percent)

Age	Rate
Actual	
25-34 (in 1950)	96.2
35-44 (in 1960)	97.7
Projected	
45-54 (in 1970)	95.0
55-64 (in 1980)	83.6

Source: Manpower Report of the President (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), Tables A-2, A-4, and E-4.

makes one suspect that the projected rate in 1980 of 83.6 for men 55-64 might well turn out to be an overestimate.[30]

Full-time, year-round employment. But no single index of labor force participation tells the complete story. For example, the degree to which such participation is based on full-time, year-round employment as opposed to part-time work makes a good deal of difference in assessing the situation of older workers. Today, no more than two-thirds of all nonfarm workers 65 and older — no more than one million men — are working year-round on a full-time basis. Slightly more than one-half — about 450,000 — of the total group of nonfarm elderly female workers are on such a schedule.[31]

"Labor force participation rate" versus "work experience." A caveat must also be entered concerning the statistics from several of the manpower and employment reports used in this study. Such reports frequently do not distinguish between *jobs* and workers, and when they cite a given figure to indicate the size of the labor force for any year or any age group, the reference may well be to jobs and not to workers.[32] There is quite a difference. For

[30]Actual experience of older females shows the same trend: in 1956, 553 out of every 1,000 women 45-54 years old were in the labor force, but by 1966, only 491 among women 10 years older. Thus, while it is correct to say that each decade witnesses a higher participation rate of older females, *it is not correct to conclude that over time, as women grow older their rates increase.*

[31]Riley and Foner, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

[32]The only major examination of this critical distinction is probably that by David J. Farber, "Workers, Jobs and Statistics," study for the Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, 1966; unpublished.

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example, in 1964, the manpower tables of the Department of Labor report an employed labor force of approximately 70 million, but in the same year there were actually 85 million men and women who worked either full or part time! The 70 million figure in reality refers to the *average* number of *jobs* filled at any one time in 1964.

For our purposes the significance of the discrepancy between *jobs filled* and *people working* is that the data on labor force participation among elderly workers understate the number of such persons who have actually worked in a given year by more than 40 percent. For example, the 1964 data report approximately 3 million persons 65 and older in the labor force, but the number who actually worked in that year was 4.2 million!

Female labor force participation. Participation of older females in the labor force is in large part a function of marital status and education.[33] As revealed by the data in Table 8, married women at each level of education have a lower participation rate than other women. But the higher the education, the higher the rate of participation in the labor force, as shown by comparison of educational categories within each marital status in Table 8.

Table 8

Rates of Labor Force Participation of Older Females by Marital Status and Education March 1964

Age	8 years of school completed		9-11 years of school completed		12 years of school completed		1-3 years of college completed		4 or more years of college completed	
	Married	Other[a]	Married	Other[a]	Married	Other[a]	Married	Other[a]	Married	Other[a]
55-64	27.7	51.9	28.1	61.3	36.0	62.4	37.7	63.9	59.0	70.6
65+	5.5	9.8	8.1	14.4	11.6	17.9	13.1	13.6	16.7	23.1

Source: Denis F. Johnston, "Educational Attainment of Workers, March 1964," *Special Labor Force Report,* 88 (1965), Table H, A-12.

[a]Widowed, divorced, or separated, excluding single women.

Health and Labor Force Participation

Professionals dealing with problems of older workers are frequently confronted with generalizations about health as a factor in labor force participation.[34] The aggregate data provide coincidental evidence that, over time

[33]Riley and Foner, *op. cit.,* pp. 58-59.

[34]*Ibid.,* pp. 449-450.

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(during the course of growing older), workers are increasingly out of the labor force. Cohort analysis from 1955 to 1965 demonstrates this. For example, in 1955, 230,000 men 25-34 years old were out of the labor force. Ten years later, the number of men 35-44 years old not in the labor force grew to 306,000. Similarly, in the case of men 35-44 in 1955 and 45-54 ten years later, the change was from 209,000 to 467,000 not in the labor force. And even more provocative, the numbers not in the labor force among men 45-54 in 1955, and 55-64 ten years later, rose from 326,000 to 1,227,000.

But the critical point here is that while most males out of the labor force report health problems, there is, nevertheless, a sizable proportion who report no chronic health problems or conditions that limit their activity. The National Health Interview Survey of 1964-1965 shows, as does Table 9, how these vary by age and labor force status.

Table 9

Health of Adult Males by Labor Force Status

(percent with each health characteristic)

Health	Employed			Unemployed			Not in labor force		
	Age 25-44	Age 45-64	Age 65+	Age 25-44	Age 45-64	Age 65+	Age 25-44	Age 45-64	Age 65+
No chronic conditions	48	38	25	49	34	26	26	12	15
Activity not limited	45	47	41	37	36	33	23	17	23
Percent with no health limitations	93	85	67	85	70	58	49	30	38
Total number of adult males (in thousands)	(20,507)	(16,288)	(2,123)	(526)	(503)	(55)	(580)	(1,610)	(5,431)

Source: Carl Rosenfeld and Elizabeth Waldman, "Work Limitations and Chronic Health Problems," *Special Labor Force Report,* 90 (1967), 40.

Note: Percentages may not add to the totals shown because of rounding.

The most striking aspect of this table may be that out of 5,431,000 elderly males not in the labor force, 38 percent apparently have no health conditions that prevent them from working. In absolute numbers, this population amounts to two million persons. This figure, incidentally, *exceeds*

by far — at a ratio of more than four to one — the number of younger men 45 to 64 years old who were also out of the labor force but without any work limitations imposed by health — 523,000.

This analysis raises a variety of questions that cannot be answered on the basis of the data provided in the National Health Interview Survey. For example, what were the preretirement occupations and industries of the older labor force nonparticipants? To what extent is their current nonworking status due to voluntary or compulsory retirement?[35] To what extent do they first become unemployed before the age of 65 and then, because of an extended inability to secure adequate reemployment, finally drop out? And, is there a limit to the number or proportion of such persons beyond which society will begin to feel the costs of their nonproductive roles?

Furthermore, as suggested in the unpublished research findings of Sidney Cobb, M.D., of the University of Michigan, a small portion of former workers become ill as a *result* of unemployment and other job-related experiences, but they are classified with all other workers who accurately may be said to be out of the labor force because of poor health.

Need for more discrete breakdowns. The general reporting category of "65 and older" obscures the fact that this group is heterogeneous, consisting today of substantial numbers of persons in their seventies and older — many of whom are working. Future official statistics will need to provide more discrete breakdowns of such a classification, and on a more frequent basis than every 10 years, as the tasks of older worker professionals become more specific and elaborate. The most recent detailed data available are from the 1960 Census. As of that date, nearly one million men 70 and older were in the labor force. As a way of testing our stereotypes about work and aging, it is interesting to note the kinds of jobs they held in that year, in comparison with the total experienced male civilian labor force and with other "older" male workers.

Occupational distribution. The data shown in Table 10 demonstrate again the concentration of older workers in agriculture. Nearly one-fourth of the very oldest workers (75 and older) are farmers, farm managers, laborers, or farm foremen, in sharp contrast to one-twelfth of the total male labor force of 1960. On the other hand, the table shows that outside these farm occupations, the oldest workers are widely represented in the "white-collar" occupations — professionals, technicians, managers, officials, proprietors, sales and service workers.

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[35] *Ibid.*, p. 449.

Table 10

Occupational Distribution of Older Male Workers 1960

(percentage distribution)

Occupation	All males	Age 60-64	Age 65-69	Age 70-74	Age 75+
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	9.9	7.1	7.8	8.1	9.2
Farmers and farm managers	5.3	9.0	12.9	16.5	19.6
Managers, officials, and proprietors	10.3	13.0	13.6	13.1	13.4
Clerical and kindred workers	6.9	6.4	6.4	5.9	5.4
Sales workers	6.7	6.4	7.5	8.6	8.8
Craftsmen, foremen, & kindred workers	19.6	20.6	16.6	13.9	10.6
Operatives and kindred workers	20.3	15.5	11.6	8.6	6.4
Service workers, including private household workers	6.1	8.9	10.5	11.9	11.2
Farm laborers and foremen	2.8	2.1	2.9	3.5	3.5
Laborers, excluding farm workers	7.4	6.8	6.3	6.1	5.6
Number (in thousands)	(45,713)	(2,629)	(1,267)	(611)	(357)

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1960 Census of Population, Occupational Characteristics,* PC(2)-7A (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 4, p. 31.

Note: Percentages do not add to 100 because "occupation not reported" is not indicated.

Industries employing older persons. As indicated by Table 11, the industries (exclusive of agriculture, forestry, fisheries, and mining) in which male elderly workers are well represented are clearly those in which manual labor is *not* an occupational characteristic: wholesale and retail trade; finance, insurance, and real estate; personal services; professional and related services; and public administration. Furthermore, it should be stressed that in a nonagricultural economy such as ours, construction and manufacturing account for only about one-third of all males employed in the nonextractive industries, yet typical discussions concerning the problem of the older worker are often based on an out-of-date image of American industry, in which the worker

is a manual laborer and the employer is a manufacturer. The contemporary reality is an economy in which only a *minority* of the employed population is in construction or manufacturing — and even in those industries, roughly one-fourth are nonproduction workers.

In 1960, nearly a third of all employed elderly women (in nonextractive industries) were working in personal services (for the most part, in private households as domestics — an occupation in which nonwhites predominate). This proportion is more than twice that for all employed females in 1960. Because of the upgraded employment opportunities for American women, and because of the changing skill demands of the general economy, it would be foolhardy to prophesy that older women in the future will be similarly employed in such low-status activities.

Table 11

Industry Distribution of Employed Persons
1960
(percentage distribution)

Industry[a]	Males			Females		
	All ages	Age 45-64	Age 65+	All ages	Age 45-64	Age 65+
Construction	9.8	10.1	8.7	0.8	0.7	0.6
Manufacturing	35.1	34.2	21.2	22.4	20.8	10.3
Transportation, communication, and public utilities	9.9	11.0	7.2	3.9	2.9	1.3
Wholesale & retail trade	19.8	18.8	22.1	22.3	22.7	19.9
Finance, insurance, and real estate	3.9	4.3	7.9	6.3	4.7	4.6
Business and repair services	3.4	3.1	3.6	1.7	1.5	1.3
Personal services	2.9	3.4	7.3	14.1	15.8	31.3
Entertainment and recreation	0.9	0.9	1.5	0.8	0.6	0.8
Professional and related services	8.1	7.9	12.5	23.2	25.2	26.0
Public administration	6.1	6.3	6.7	4.6	5.0	3.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1960 Census of Population, Occupation by Industry*, PC(2)-7C (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 1, p. 1.

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

[a]Excludes agriculture, fisheries, forestry, mining, and "industry not reported."

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As of 1960, 70 percent of all male older workers and 89 percent of female older workers employed in the secondary and tertiary industries (those included in Table 11) were outside of construction and manufacturing, in contrast to 55 percent of males of all ages, and 77 percent of females of all ages. Although this comparison may be interpreted as an index of the lack of opportunities for (and/or discrimination against) older persons in manufacturing and construction, the more positive interpretation points to the *greater* potentials for employment of the older workers, now and in the future, that exist in the *non*construction, *non*manufacturing sections of our economy.

The future is one in which employment for older workers will be concentrated in nonmanual, nonmanufacturing occupations and industries, with an increasing female component. Because of this changing composition, we can expect new problems and opportunities to emerge in the area of industrial gerontology. Compelling illustrations follow.

Long-Term Unemployment

Once unemployed, an older worker runs a greater risk of long-term joblessness, even though unemployment rates themselves are generally lower for older workers as a whole.[36] This greater long-term unemployment risk can be seen in Table 12, which indicates the age distribution of long-term unemployed males *relative* to the distribution for all unemployed males in 1959 and 1969. It shows, for example, that older males (both the 45-64 age group and the 65-plus group) have been *over*represented among the long-term unemployed. Conversely, younger males tend to be *under*represented. In 1969, only 24.4 percent of all unemployed males were 45-64, but among the long-term unemployed they constituted 37.4 percent. In the same way, the very oldest group (those 65 and older) made up only 4.1 percent of all the unemployed men, but 7.5 percent of the long-term unemployed. For those under 25, the very opposite obtained. While these figures rise and fall depending on the overall state of the economy, the *relative* position of the older male remains the same.

An additional fact, not shown in Table 12, is that long-term unemployed older workers are disproportionately overrepresented not only compared to the overall population of the *unemployed* but also compared to the overall *labor force*. In 1969 male workers 45-64 made up nearly 34 percent of the male labor force, but more than 37 percent of the long-term unemployed

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[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

Rates are lower among workers in the more mature adult years, say after 30. Unemployment rates of men in their fifties and older, however, are frequently the greatest, as shown in Table 12.

Table 12

Percent of All Unemployed and Long-Term Unemployed[a] Males, by Age Group 1959 and 1969

Age	Unemployed in 1959		Unemployed in 1969	
	All	Long-term	All	Long-term
All ages	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
18-19	9.2	6.6	17.1	8.7
20-24	15.4	12.8	23.2	15.2
25-44	39.8	39.6	31.0	30.9
45-64	30.4	34.4	24.4	37.4
65 and over	4.9	6.6	4.1	7.5

Source: Manpower Report of the President, 1970, Table A-20.

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

[a]Unemployed 15 weeks or more.

males. The 65-plus group constituted, in the same year, slightly more than 4 percent of the total male labor force, but 7.5 percent of the long-term unemployed.

Since the high unemployment year of 1961, the overall rate of unemployment among men had declined by 56 percent as of 1969 (from 6.4 to 2.8); the decline was even greater for those between 35 and 64. Regardless of recent opportunities for pre-65 retirement under Social Security, unemployment remained at a higher rate among elderly workers than among all other adult workers 25 years of age and older. The most critical problem is among those older women still too young to retire, aged 45-54. Since 1961, women have constituted about 36 percent of the total labor force 45-54 years old, but have consistently been disproportionately overrepresented among the unemployed in the same age category. By 1966, 37 percent of the 45-54 labor force was female, but females were 44 percent of all unemployed in this age group. Data for older groups suggest that were it not for early retirement options under Social Security, the unemployment rates of older women might be higher than they are technically reported. It should also be noted that the overrepresentation of women among the unemployed in the 45-54 age group since 1961 is largely a product of reduction in the general unemployment rate. In other words, men tend to be overrepresented among the unemployed when the economy is in a general recession or depression; but when the economy picks up, the older women are not reemployed at the same rate as men, and thus become a substantial part of the remaining pool of unemployed jobseekers.

The problem of hard-core unemployment. In the immediate present and for some years to come, increasing attention will be given to the difficult individual-by-individual aspects of the hard-core unemployed, especially in our central city slum areas. As an example of the characteristics of the older men and women who are unemployed or subemployed in such areas, information from a Department of Labor survey for four days in December 1966 in seven of our major urban areas justifies concern for the older worker.

Among all adults contacting local Employment Service offices in these seven cities, nearly one-third were 45 or older. Professional interviewers determined what they considered to be the major barriers to obtaining employment for such persons. Data on background characteristics included number of years of school completed, so that we are able to compare these barriers, holding age and education constant. Table 13 illustrates the problems of older unemployed persons in slum areas.

Table 13

Significant Barriers to Employment in Seven Slum Areas by Age and Education

Barrier	0-7 years of school		8-11 years of school		12 or more years of school	
	Age 22-44	Age 45+	Age 22-44	Age 45+	Age 22-44	Age 45+
Age	0.7	19.2	0.4	19.3	1.0	12.1
Lack of necessary skill and/or experience	10.8	5.7	10.6	6.2	13.2	6.2
Lack of education or training	21.5	17.8	13.0	6.9	3.4	4.2
Obsolete skill; no demand for skill in local area	1.6	2.7	1.1	2.0	2.2	4.2
Health	4.7	6.6	5.2	7.6	3.9	8.7
Other barriers[a]	11.4	8.0	14.7	10.3	16.4	17.9
No discernible barrier	49.2	40.0	54.9	47.6	59.9	46.7

Source: U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, *Examination of the War on Poverty*, Staff and Consultant Reports (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), II, 562.

[a]Personal, transportation; care of child or other family member.

Among the unemployed older persons in these areas, the less educated are most likely to face the age barrier, but even for individuals with a high school diploma, interviewers judged age to be a significant factor for one out of every eight. The task ahead is to sensitize employment personnel at both the public and private levels to the peculiar barriers that impede older persons in their quest for security and status through the world of work, and to provide such personnel with the special skills needed to help the jobseeker overcome these difficulties.

The Effect of Education on Employment

Neither the occupational nor the employment status of older workers is a simple function of age. It is crucial that manpower specialists recognize that correlations between age and these statuses may frequently be spurious, that is, due to factors other than age *per se*. One way of demonstrating this principle is to examine the wide variation in the occupational distribution of elderly workers according to their educational levels. Table 14 shows this distribution among males 65 and over in the experienced labor force, as of the 1960 Census. The 1970 Census data, when available, should be even more instructive.

The table shows, for example, that nearly three-fourths — 73 percent — of college-educated men 65 and older were in professional, technical, managerial, and related occupations (including officials and proprietors), in comparison with only 22 percent of all elderly men, and 20 percent of the total experienced male labor force of all ages in 1960. Nearly one-fourth of the elderly men with less than eight years of schooling were in farm occupations, in contrast with less than one-eighth of those with some high school education, and one-twelfth of the total group of males.

A second way of highlighting the role of education in the occupations of employed older males is to show the relatively narrower variation in occupations among different age groups with similar years of schooling. More precisely, *the higher the level of education, the less the degree of occupational variation.* This shows up clearly among men with four or more years of college, as Table 15 reveals. With the exception of farm-related occupations (in which the proportion of higher educated elderly males was roughly four times greater than that among the youngest college graduates), Table 15 reveals no clear-cut discrepancies in the broad occupational categories among the various age groups of college graduates who were in the experienced male labor force of 1960. The relative occupational homogeneity, regardless of age, is obscured in aggregate tables comparing the occupations of young and old males which do *not* include the education variable. To repeat, age *per se* is not a useful variable in explaining many aspects of the occupational and work status of older workers.

Table 14

Occupational Distribution of Experienced Male Labor Force 65 and Older, by Years of School Completed 1960

(percentage distribution)

Occupation	All men 65+	Years of school completed						All men 14+
		0-7	8	9-11	12	1-3 college	4 or more college	
Professional and technical workers	8.3	1.1	2.3	5.1	9.1	22.1	55.9	9.9
Farmers and farm managers	15.7	18.4	18.7	11.8	8.3	9.1	3.8	5.3
Managers, officials, & proprietors	13.9	8.1	11.6	17.5	22.8	23.7	17.3	10.3
Clerical workers	6.1	3.0	5.9	9.6	11.7	10.4	5.1	6.9
Sales workers	8.2	4.9	7.3	11.7	13.0	13.4	7.5	6.7
Craftsmen & foremen	14.3	15.8	18.7	16.5	13.0	7.6	3.2	19.6
Operatives	9.5	13.2	11.2	8.9	6.6	3.5	1.4	20.3
Service, including private household workers	11.0	14.7	12.1	9.7	7.5	4.0	1.9	6.1
Farm laborers and foremen	3.1	5.6	2.7	1.4	1.0	0.8	0.4	2.8
Laborers	5.8	10.6	5.4	3.5	2.3	1.6	0.6	7.4
Occupation not reported	4.0	4.6	4.0	4.3	4.7	3.8	3.1	4.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1960 Census of Population, Occupational Characteristics,* PC(2)-7A (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 11, p. 144.

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

Although projections into the future regarding aging are dangerous exercises when based on these types of data, it may nevertheless be worth the risk to speculate about some possible implications of Table 14 and Table 15. With general improvement in the level of education in the American labor force, along with the changing character of the economy's technology and occupational composition, age may make less difference in the occupational mix in the decades ahead. This greater similarity in occupational profiles among age groups is also likely to mean smaller differences in unemployment experiences among adult workers.

Table 15

Occupational Distribution of Experienced Male Labor Force With Four or More Years of College, by Age 1960

(percentage distribution)

Occupation	Age 25-29	Age 30-34	Age 35-44	Age 45-54	Age 55-64	Age 65+
Professional and technical workers	60.6	59.1	57.1	53.5	54.1	56.0
Farmers and farm managers	0.7	0.8	1.0	1.4	1.8	3.8
Managers, officials, and proprietors	11.0	15.7	19.7	22.9	22.0	17.3
Clerical workers	7.1	5.4	4.9	4.8	4.8	5.0
Sales workers	9.9	10.0	8.0	7.1	6.8	7.5
Craftsmen and foremen	3.6	3.9	4.1	4.2	4.3	3.2
Operatives	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.6	1.5	1.4
Service, including private household workers	1.0	0.7	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.9
Laborers, including farm and farm foremen	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.9
Occupation not reported	4.0	2.9	2.6	3.1	3.3	3.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1960 Census of Population, Occupational Characteristics*, PC(2)-7A (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 11, p. 144.

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

Furthermore, such projections will be affected by the age structure of the total labor force. If birth rates in the next decade or so continue to decline, for example, it is quite possible that persons at upper age limits will be in greater demand among employers. Some slight evidence for this speculation may be gleaned from the fact that in 1960 more than 70 percent of all urban men aged 55-64 with 12 or more years of schooling worked the previous year for 50 to 52 weeks, in contrast to only 40 percent of those with no schooling, 51 percent of those with 1 to 7 years, and 63 percent of those with 8 to 11 years of education. These percentages are based on the total population in each education category, including those not working at all in the previous year. The corresponding proportions for the 65 and older urban males are shown in Table 16.[87]

[87] See also Riley and Foner, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

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Table 16

Work Experience of Urban Males 65 and Over, by Education 1960

Years of school completed	Percent who worked 50-52 weeks in previous year
None	11
1-7	15
8	19
9-11	26
12	29
1-3 college	32
4 or more college	37

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1960 Census of Population, Employment Status and Work Experience,* PC(2)-6A (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 20, p. 208.

Such data warrant some speculation that work and retirement patterns characterizing the recent past may *not* be continued in decades ahead, as the general level of educational achievement among urban workers continues to rise.

Concluding Note

There is a need for a new perspective on the part of both public and private administrators, decisionmakers, and practitioners on the employment status of older workers. This new perspective must flow from specific research studies and aggregative quantitative data forming the empirical and theoretical basis of industrial gerontology. Such studies and data can provide a foundation for anticipating, preventing, or mitigating employment problems of older workers. Once the stereotypes about older workers are challenged (as a result of studies and analyses that go beyond averages) personnel practitioners and manpower specialists are free to develop new approaches to job placement, training, and redesign. In addition, sensitivity to noneconomic, nonskill aspects is indispensable. Psychological factors, such as orientation toward opportunities, fears about being rejected for employment, and self-image as an older worker, are realities to be considered along with job skill and chronological age. Social-psychological barriers to employment of older workers must be removed if retraining and job redesign measures are to become effective.

Age and Migration Factors in the Socioeconomic Conditions of Urban Black and White Women*

Introduction

This report is based primarily on an examination of data from a 1967 Office of Economic Opportunity survey that contains previously unanalyzed information on the economic status of women in metropolitan areas. These data permit exploration of relationships between age and the employment patterns of women in urban settings of different population sizes. Occupational comparisons between female *rural migrants* in different urban areas with women *born* in the same urban areas are also possible. Previous migration studies have primarily focused on younger males without regard to the size of their urban destination. This analysis will (1) specify and interpret the patterns of movement and employment for old and young groups within a population which has been for the most part overlooked, and (2) determine the urban-size influence on economic status, if any. Although the OEO data on which most of this study is based do not provide information on some of the more subtle indicators of occupational performance (such as previous work history, ability to get along with coworkers, and attitudinal phenomena), data on the *nature of the occupation* and the *number of weeks employed* are available and were selected as basic measures of occupational success or performance. A related measure, *income*, is also available. There are exceptions, but remunerative rewards generally reflect the relative ranking of an occupation and an individual's success within it.

Because the sample is limited to women, many of the respondents are not heads of households. However, an informative, summarizing measure of the economic status of the household within which the women are living is the *poverty-nonpoverty* index derived by Mollie Orshansky of the Social Security Administration.[1] It is based on income, family size, and local living cost. Therefore, occupation, portion of the year employed, income, and general socioeconomic status (as measured by the poverty index) are treated here as the major dependent variables indicating performance in the labor market by young and old women.

Six major independent variables were selected for examination. Four of these — *marital status, race, educational attainment, and health* — may affect labor force participation rates. Each of these individual characteristics will be

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*Written with the assistance of Dr. Charles Harris, Department of Sociology, The George Washington University.

[1]See, for example, Mollie Orshansky's "Counting the Poor," *Social Security Bulletin*, January 1965.

examined for its relative impact on the dependent variables. The fifth variable will be the *size of the urban area* within which the women reside. The assumption is that, as cities vary markedly in employment opportunities as well as in the composition of their respective labor forces, *size* of the urban area is one aspect of these variations. Finally, *migration status* will also be included in the individual characteristics to determine the status of migrants from rural areas relative to native urbanites.

Women and the Urban Work Force

Between 1900 and 1969 the participation of women in the work force more than doubled — from 20 to 42 percent of the adult female population,[2] one result of the increasing urbanization of the society. More significant, however, than this gross rate of change are the accompanying changes in the *structure* of the female work force because they foretell changes in the patterns of family life and childrearing, as well as changes in the societal role of women of varying ages.

It might be useful to consider briefly some of the factors which have contributed to the rising proportion of working women, as well as some of the inhibiting factors, which not only limit the employment participation of women but determine the form that participation will take. The case of *married* women is especially pertinent.

Various factors underlie the increasing employment rates of married women. Their rising level of educational attainment and tendency to use acquired occupational and professional skills are evident. The major force behind both their educational and employment gains is the opportunity provided by the economy's expanding need for skilled workers.

Rising standards of consumption are another factor, especially among married women workers in nonprofessional and nonmanagerial occupations. Clearly the availability of air travel, automobiles, television, and other major household appliances, coupled frequently with the rising cost of living, has created greater "economic desires and needs" than previously existed. Treating *consumption desires* as a factor, furthermore, partially explains the strong *job* motivation that may exist among married female workers in the absence of *career* motivation.

The dominance of economic need and consumption desires is evident in a study of a group of women seven years after their graduation from college. Working "to support oneself or others" and "to increase the family income" were the two most frequently mentioned reasons for working, characterizing

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[2]U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *1965 Handbook on Women Workers*, p. 6; and *Manpower Report of the President*, 1970.

67 percent of the responses. "Career aspirations" were mentioned by only 13 percent of the respondents.[3] It would seem reasonable to expect that, among the less educated, employment because of *necessity* rather than choice would be even more pronounced.

Although clearly less important as an explanatory variable than as a necessity, *idleness and boredom* may also contribute to the increasing percentage of women who are moving into the labor force in their middle and older years. They are a factor that is rarely considered in labor force participation studies. The mechanization of household tasks provides women with far more leisure time than their counterparts had a generation ago. This time gained may actually become a burden for housewives once their children have left home. Caplow's description of the predicament of the older nonemployed housewife explains why a higher proportion of the women over 45 are now moving into the labor force:

> Withal, the general situation is highly unfavorable for the housewife in her middle years. In a culture which attaches extreme importance to striving and to individual productivity the housewife at fifty is typically idle with no economic need for employment but with a pressing psychological need to justify herself. . . . Generally speaking, this group of women, with their unused energy transposed in various neurotic themes, are the most conspicuously maladjusted segment of the population.[4]

Another factor, of course, has been the lower fertility rate resulting from greater acceptance of the practice of birth control. While primarily viewed as an *effect* of greater job market opportunities and rising living standards, this factor has also operated as one of the *causes* of greater female participation in the labor force.

Despite the combined effect of necessity, consumption desires, and idleness which pushes many women into the labor market, most adult women in our society do not work. Factors which account for this situation are the absence of marketable skills, the cultural proscriptions surrounding female employment, and discriminatory hiring practices. The absence of marketable skills and/or the educational prerequisites result(s) either in exclusion from the labor force or participation in low-status jobs. Housewives and mothers are often reluctant to seek employment for fear of neglecting their domestic-based roles. In addition, women are frequently barred from jobs which are traditionally male-dominated or which entail a long-term commitment. These and other inhibiting factors aid in explaining the fact that fewer women work than

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[3]Jean A. Wells, "Women College Graduates Seven Years Later," *Monthly Labor Review*, July 7, 1967.

[4]Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 235.

might and that those who do are often in positions which do not reflect their abilities.

Despite these factors, the participation rates among married women have exhibited a rise over time. During the 19th century few married women worked. A survey in 1893, for example, found that even in slum districts only 5 percent of the wives were employed, and these were mainly Negro and immigrant women.[5] This is a critical point. In pre-20th century America it was essentially women from the lower status, *marginal* groups in that society who sought and obtained employment. In 1948 only 22 percent of all married women worked, but as Table 1 indicates, by 1969 the figure had grown to nearly 40 percent. That the participation rates have grown most dramatically among married women is substantiated by the data for this 21-year period.

For the single and previously married women, less than a 2 percent gain in employment has been experienced since the early fifties, while 17 percent more of the married women are now working. In 1969 the percentage of married women employed exceeded *for the first time* the percentage of employed women who were widowed, separated, or divorced. If this percentage growth trend continues, the proportion of married women who are employed will exceed 50 percent by 1985. The projections for the single, widowed, separated, and divorced categories are more complex, since a less consistent pattern is present. The percentage who may be employed in the future may be more dependent on such factors as the state of the economy or the age distribution of the married female population.

A comparison of young and old married women reveals that the overall pattern of increasing labor force participation over time prevails within each of the age groupings. The only deviation from the overall pattern is found in the very youngest and the oldest groupings. For the majority of the married women, however, those between 20 and 64 years of age, the pattern is evident — an increase in their participation in the labor force.

The most recent data (1969) underscore the significance of age as a variable. Participation rates are the highest for married women (a) in the *earliest* years of marriage (age 20-24) and (b) during that period when children are likely *not* to be at home (age 35-54). The figures for previous time periods parallel the 1969 figures (with lower overall rates) except for the 20-24 age category. In this age group one of the most dramatic increases has occurred: the 1969 figure for the 20-24-year-old married women is nearly double that of the period immediately after World War II. Postponement of the childbearing period and the growth in consumption desires — along with

[5]Carl N. Degler, "Revolution Without Ideology: The Changing Place of Women in America," in Robert J. Lifton, *The Women in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).

Table 1

Female Labor Force Participation Rates by Marital Status and Age
Selected Years, 1948-1969

(percent)

Year	Total	Under 20	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Married, spouse present								
1948	22.0	21.2	24.9	22.2	27.2	a	a	6.1
1952	25.3	21.9	25.8	25.4	31.7	29.0	16.9	5.9
1955	27.7	19.8	29.4	26.0	33.7	33.9	21.3	7.5
1960	30.5	25.3	30.0	27.7	36.2	40.5	24.3	5.9
1965	34.7	27.0	35.6	32.1	40.6	44.0	31.4	7.6
1969	39.6	35.4	47.9	36.9	45.4	48.2	35.4	7.6
Single								
1948	51.1	29.3	78.8	81.8	78.1	a	a	23.2
1952	50.0	28.0	75.9	83.0	78.4	78.5	63.1	16.4
1955	46.4	24.6	69.6	80.9	81.2	79.4	69.1	26.0
1960	44.1	25.3	73.4	79.9	79.7	80.6	67.0	21.6
1965	40.5	23.6	72.3	83.4	77.0	75.7	68.1	21.3
1969	51.2	37.1	69.4	80.9	72.3	72.8	62.8	18.4
Widowed, separated, or divorced								
1948	38.7	41.0	57.9	64.7	67.9	a	a	8.5
1952	38.8	41.0	59.0	63.0	68.7	61.5	39.5	8.2
1955	39.6	37.3	55.1	60.5	64.6	64.1	45.1	10.7
1960	40.0	37.3	54.6	55.5	67.4	68.2	50.7	11.0
1965	38.9	35.2	58.6	62.8	65.0	67.9	53.3	10.0
1969	39.2	51.8	62.9	63.5	66.4	68.5	55.0	10.2

Source: Manpower Report of the President, 1970, Table B-2.

[a]The 45-54 and 55-64 categories were not available separately until 1952. The 1948 percentages for the 45-64 age group were 19.4 for the married; 61.6 for the single; and 48.9 for the widowed, separated, or divorced.

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urbanization and rising labor market skills — have combined to account in large part for this increase.

The 45-54-year-old grouping has the highest participation rate among the married women category, which was not true before the mid-fifties. This undoubtedly reflects in part the greater freedom of these women from child-rearing duties. The same period of time — to repeat — has also witnessed a rising level of education, equipping more women for gainful employment.

No longitudinal studies have been made of labor force participation, i.e., tracing one group of women over a long period of time to determine changes in their work experience. However, a second-best approach is to take data from the *Manpower Report of the President* concerning the labor force participation rates of a given age group, say in 1949, and to compare such rates with those in 1959 for women *10* years older, and with those in 1969 for women *20* years older.

Such a method suggests, for example, that among *all* women 35-44 years old in 1949, 38 percent were in the labor force; by 1959 — when they were 45-54 years old — 49 percent were labor force participants, and by 1969 — when they were 55-64 years old — 43 percent. (Comparable figures for *married* women only were 29 percent, 40 percent, and 35 percent.)

Table 2

Labor Force Participation Rates of Men and Women Born in 1905-14 for the Years 1949, 1959, and 1969

Year and age	Women	Men	Female rates as percent of male rates
1949 (35-44)	38.1	98.0	39
1959 (45-54)	49.0	96.0	51
1969 (55-64)	43.1	83.4	52

Table 2 reveals that, in a given age group, women — over time — are "gaining" over men when it comes to participation in the world of work. Taking the men and women 35-44 years old in 1949, for example, the female rate was only 39 percent of the male rate. But by 1959 their rate had leaped to 51 percent and by 1969 seemed to have stabilized at a slightly higher percentage, 52. A major shift in the relative employment opportunities of men and women has apparently taken place over the course of the past two decades. And by 1980, the projections indicate that the participation rate of women

55-64 years old will climb to 57 percent of the rate for men of the same age. The comparable figure in 1950 was only 31 percent.

Race, Size of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area and Socioeconomic Status

As indicated already, Negro women had a higher labor force participation rate in the last century than white women. The pattern continues into the second half of this century, as revealed in Table 3, which takes into consideration age and size of SMSA (Standard Metropolitian Statistical Area). For example, (a) in the smaller SMSA's, 64 percent of the younger Negro women, but only 55 percent of the younger white women, worked in 1966; (b) in the *largest* SMSA's, 52 percent of the older black women, but only 41 percent of the older white women worked in that same year. This higher rate among blacks belies the popular stereotype about the low proportion of workers among Negroes.

The table also reveals, *within* each racial group, the extent of age differences in labor force participation. Among white women, the differences are widespread, *regardless of SMSA size*. Younger white women have a higher rate of participation than older ones. But this is *not* true among Negro females. The rate of participation is virtually the same for old and young black women — *except* in the largest SMSA's. In such metropolitan areas, age differences do emerge. Only 52 percent of older black women, in comparison with 59 percent of the younger black women, had some work experience.

This same table, however, obscures the fact that one of the highest labor force participation rates is to be found among the women 45-54 years old, in both races — on a nationwide basis, at any rate. For example, in 1969, 53 percent of white women in that age group were in the labor force, exceeded only by the 18-24 group. The rate dropped sharply to 43 percent in the 55-64 group and then to less than 10 percent among white women 65 and older.

Among Negro and other nonwhite women, the 1969 rate among the 14-44 group was between 58 and 59 percent; among the 45-54 group, just a little higher — 61 percent; then, as in the case of white women, it declined sharply to 48 percent in the 55-64 age group and to 12 percent for the oldest group.

Finally, to return to Table 3, *among workers only*, the proportions working at least 48 weeks during the survey year were higher for the older groups, regardless of race or SMSA size. This apparently reflects in large part the reduction in the number of school-age children among older women, thus releasing them for full-time and/or year-round employment.

Table 3

Weeks Worked by Women During 1966 by SMSA Size, Race, and Age

(In percent)

Weeks worked	White		Black	
	14-44	45 and over	14-44	45 and over
Small SMSA's (under 250,000)				
0	44.5	59.7	36.4	37.1
1-52	56.5	40.3	63.6	62.9
1-26	22.5	8.0	18.9	12.1
27-47	10.8	6.9	11.4	8.0
48-52	23.2	25.4	33.3	42.8
Percent of employed who worked 48-52 weeks	42	63	52	68
Medium SMSA's (250,000-750,000)				
0	47.7	58.5	45.8	46.4
1-52	53.3	41.6	54.3	53.6
1-26	19.4	7.6	22.8	10.0
27-47	10.8	7.0	10.1	11.1
48-52	23.1	27.0	21.4	32.5
Percent of employed who worked 48-52 weeks	44	65	39	61
Large SMSA's (over 750,000)				
0	47.5	59.3	40.9	48.3
1-52	52.4	40.7	59.1	51.7
1-26	19.3	7.4	19.2	8.8
27-47	10.0	7.5	11.2	9.1
48-52	23.1	25.8	28.7	33.8
Percent of employed who worked 48-52 weeks	44	63	49	65

Source: Data for this and all subsequent tables are derived from the 1967 Office of Economic Opportunity household survey. Computations were facilitated by a Ford Foundation grant to the Upjohn Institute.

Note: Not all columns add up to 100.0 due to rounding.

Occupational Status

But what about the *kinds* of employment performed by these women? As indicated in Table 4, within all SMSA sizes, employed white women are far more likely than blacks to be found in professional and managerial positions. A similar distribution is to be found within the clerical and sales positions. Among Negroes, the younger women in the larger SMSA's seem to fare the

Table 4

Occupations of Employed Women by City Size, Race, and Age 1967

(in percent)

Occupational classification	White		Black	
	14-44	45 and over	14-44	45 and over
Small SMSA's (under 250,000)				
Professional & technical	14	14	9	3
Managers[a]	2	7	[b]	1
Clerical	36	28	6	2
Sales	8	17	3	[b]
Craftsmen and operatives	16	14	15	7
Private household	5	6	29	51
Service	18	12	33	29
Laborers	2	3	6	7
Medium SMSA's (250,000-750,000)				
Professional & technical	13	12	7	5
Managers[a]	3	7	1	[b]
Clerical	38	30	14	5
Sales	8	11	3	3
Craftsmen and operatives	17	19	14	15
Private household	5	4	18	42
Service	14	16	35	25
Laborers	[b]	1	3	4
Large SMSA's (over 750,000)				
Professional & technical	14	12	7	6
Managers[a]	3	7	[b]	1
Clerical	44	33	30	8
Sales	8	11	3	3
Craftsmen and operatives	13	19	23	18
Private household	5	4	11	39
Service	13	13	24	27
Laborers	[b]	[b]	2	[b]

[a]Includes officials and proprietors.
[b]Under 1 percent.

best, as the 30 percent in the clerical category comes closest to the 44 percent of the younger white women in the same category. It is clear in Table 4 that young female blacks in the big metros are distinctly different from their older peers in the same areas: They *do* not and *will* not accept the demeaning occupational status so long symbolized by employment as domestic servants. Furthermore, when compared with blacks of their *own* age in the *smaller* metropolitan urban areas, they enjoy a far better occupational status (11 percent versus 29 percent) working in private households.[6]

In all SMSA sizes, the private household and service categories predominate among the Negro women but not among the white women. Nevertheless, the larger the SMSA, the less the probability that black women — especially young ones — will be working as domestic servants. The differences are worth noting separately (see Table 5).

Table 5

Percent of Young and Old Employed Negro Women Working in Private Households by Size of SMSA and Age

Size of SMSA	Young (14-44)	Old (45+)	Young proportion as percent of old proportion
Small SMSA's	29	51	57
Medium SMSA's	18	42	43
Large SMSA's	11	39	28
Percent difference between proportions in small and large SMSA's	—62	—24	xx

Earnings

Over 50 percent of younger and older Negro women report some earnings (Table 6); but with the exception of the large cities, the majority of these women (including *non*earners) earned less than $2,000 the previous year. Employment for less than half the year, coupled with low remunerative occupations (clerical and service for the younger group and private household and service for the older group), accounts for this pattern of minimal earnings.

[6]As of 1968, in *non*metropolitan areas of the United States, 39 percent of employed Negro women, of *all* ages, were working as domestic servants.

From the data it is apparent that urban size does operate as an independent variable in the anticipated direction: the larger the area, the higher the earnings of employed black women (with the exception of younger blacks).

Table 6

1966 Earnings of Women by SMSA Size, Race, and Age
(in percent)

Dollar earnings	White		Black	
	14-44	45 and over	14-44	45 and over
Small SMSA's (under 250,000)				
0	45.4	62.5	36.9	37.5
1-1,999	31.3	14.1	39.0	43.4
2,000-3,999	14.9	13.6	17.1	14.0
4,000-5,999	8.7	6.4	5.1	4.8
6,000+	1.4	3.4	1.8	0.3
Medium SMSA's (250,000-750,000)				
0	48.6	60.5	45.8	46.5
1-1,999	25.8	13.6	36.1	37.0
2,000-3,999	12.7	11.2	13.6	10.5
4,000-5,999	9.9	10.3	4.7	4.1
6,000+	3.0	4.5	0.8	1.8
Large SMSA's (over 750,000)				
0	48.3	60.4	41.2	48.6
1-1,999	24.0	12.9	27.2	23.6
2,000-3,999	12.3	11.3	18.8	18.0
4,000-5,999	11.6	9.7	9.8	6.4
6,000+	3.8	6.3	3.0	3.3

The distribution of earnings for *earners only* is shown in Table 7. It reveals that for *white* women, the older earners — regardless of SMSA size — earn more than younger ones. Such a pattern, however, is not as clear among *black* females.

Size of SMSA does appear to affect amount of earnings, regardless of age and race, judging by the proportions earning $4,000 or more. Relative to the $4,000-plus earners in the smallest SMSA's, black women in the big metros (750,000 or larger) experienced the greatest improvement. Among older black women in the larger SMSA's, the proportion earning this much or more was 111 percent greater than the proportion earning the same amount in the

Table 7

1966 Earnings of Employed Women by SMSA Size, Race, and Age

(in percent)

Dollar earnings	White		Black	
	14-44	45 and over	14-44	45 and over
Small SMSA's (under 250,000)				
Under 2,000	57	38	62	69
2,000-3,999	27	36	27	22
4,000+	16	26	11	9
Medium SMSA's (250,000-750,000)				
Under 2,000	50	34	67	69
2,000-3,999	25	28	25	20
4,000+	25	37	9	11
Large SMSA's (over 750,000)				
Under 2,000	46	33	46	46
2,000-3,999	24	29	32	35
4,000+	30	38	22	19
Index of "Big Metro Impact"[a]	+88	+46	+100	+111

[a]Percentage difference between proportion earning $4,000-plus in smallest SMSA's and in largest SMSA's.

smallest areas, as compared to 100 percent for the younger blacks, 88 percent for the younger white women, and only 46 percent in the case of older whites. For young and old Negro working women, then, the big metros offer a far greater income opportunity than the small urban areas of the country.

Education

Since the turn of the century a gradual upgrading of educational requirements for most job categories has occurred. For an earlier generation, the absence of a high school diploma might not have impeded the upward mobility pattern of a large segment of the labor force, but for young men and women *now* entering the labor force, a high school diploma is rapidly becoming a prerequisite for nearly all jobs — whether warranted in each case or not.

As Table 8 suggests, a greater percentage of younger women have a higher educational attainment than do older women — regardless of urban size. For all three SMSA sizes, less than half of all the women 45 and over have completed high school. Among younger Negro women in the small, medium, and

large areas, the percent completing high school was 37, 34, and 47, respectively. Only the younger whites have percentages above 50 — at 61, 58, and 62, respectively.

For the small, medium, and large urban areas, college attendance rates are notably higher among younger women of both races. The differential is especially great between the age groupings of black women in small cities; while in medium-sized cities, the percent among the younger and older groupings is nearly identical. For all three urban-size categories, however, a higher proportion of younger white women have at least some college than do older white women, who are then followed by younger black women and older black women. The same is true with respect to proportions with high school

Table 8

Educational Attainment of Women by SMSA Size, Race, and Age

(in percent)

Educational attainment	White		Black	
	14-44	45 and over	14-44	45 and over
Small SMSA's (under 250,000)				
0-8 years	13.3	33.9	27.8	64.6
9-11 years	25.3	19.1	34.8	25.8
12 years and over	61.4	46.9	37.5	9.6
12 years	41.9	32.1	25.1	5.2
1 year or more college	19.5	14.8	12.4	4.4
Medium SMSA's (250,000-750,000)				
0-8 years	15.5	35.7	22.3	65.4
9-11 years	26.3	22.8	43.3	16.5
12 years and over	58.2	41.5	34.5	18.1
12 years	40.0	26.3	25.7	10.4
1 year or more college	18.2	15.2	8.8	7.7
Large SMSA's (over 750,000)				
0-8 years	12.4	35.8	18.3	55.1
9-11 years	25.1	18.2	35.0	20.8
12 years and over	62.5	46.0	46.7	24.1
12 years	40.5	29.1	33.7	15.3
1 year or more college	22.0	16.9	13.0	8.8

diplomas in small and medium-sized cities. In the large SMSA's, however, the proportion of *young black women* with at least a high school education is about equal to that for *old whites*.

The relative advantage of both old and young black women in big metros is revealed by the *ratio* of the proportion of black women with 12 or more years of schooling to the proportion of white women with the same amount of schooling.

Table 9 shows, for example, that the proportion of big metro young black women with at least a high school diploma is 75 percent of the corresponding proportion for young *white women*, as compared to approximately 60 percent for young black women in the two smaller SMSA's. While the ratios for *older* black women are lower, the sharp contrast between their educational status relative to whites in the small SMSA's (21 percent), and their ratio in the large SMSA's (52 percent) cannot be ignored.

Table 9

Ratio of Percent of Black Women to Corresponding Percent of White Women With High School Diploma by SMSA Size and Age

SMSA size	14-44	45+
Under 250,000	61	21
250,000-750,000	59	44
Over 750,000	75	52

Health

Good health is clearly a prerequisite to fulfillment of a wide variety of role obligations, including occupational ones. The 1967 OEO survey data were limited to the impact of health on employment, i.e., the extent to which the respondent's current state of health allowed for or limited full-time employment. It is clear from the findings presented in Table 10 that age has a profound relationship to the ability to work full time. About one-half of the respondents 45-64 reported that health status prevented or limited labor force participation, in contrast to no more than 11 percent of those under 45.

Urban size does not appear to be related to this factor, but black women are at a slightly *greater* disadvantage relative to white women. Unfortunately, finer age-related breakdowns are not presently available for this report, nor are there separate "prevent" and "limit" categories. It might be useful, in

light of this dilemma, to refer to some earlier age-related findings reported by Confrey and Goldstein.[7]

> [In the health district surveyed] there is apparently a noticeable increase in the prevalence rate of disabling illness among adults in their late thirties and early forties, following a decline in rates throughout young adulthood. From about age 45 on, the rates increased steadily throughout the fifties and sixties (58 and 79 per 1000). Then during the years above 75, a sharp increase occurred (to 165 per 1000 persons).

The Confrey and Goldstein findings focus on disabling illnesses, which prevent full-time employment for all adults. The findings presented in this analysis (from the OEO data) include both disabling and limiting conditions for women, which clearly include a larger proportion of the 45-64 age category.

Table 10

Percent of Women Prevented From, or Limited in, Labor Force Participation Because of Poor Health by SMSA Size, Race, and Age

SMSA size	White		Black	
	14-44	45-64	14-44	45-64
Under 250,000	5.2	47.4	10.8	51.8
250,000-750,000 ..	7.9	47.3	14.6	53.6
Over 750,000	5.3	45.0	9.4	47.2

Poverty

All of the separate measures (such as labor force participation, occupation, earnings, and education) function in such a way as to affect the life chances of individuals. One major summarizing index of these separate items (plus many others, obviously) is the level, or degree, of poverty in which these individuals now find themselves. The analysis here refers to three categories created by the Social Security Administration: (1) persons living *below* a very stringent, quantitative ("economy") definition of poverty; (2) those living *between* this level and a less stringent one ("low cost"); and (3) those living *above* the low-cost level. Each of these levels is based not only on family income, but also on family size, location, sex of family head, etc.

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[7]Stanley A. Confrey and Marcus S. Goldstein, "The Health Status of Aging People," in Clark Tibbitts, ed., *Handbook of Social Gerontology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 169-177.

The findings on the overall economic status of the household — as measured by the incidence of poverty — parallel those for the separate success indicators (see Table 11). Differences between the percentages of whites and blacks who experience poverty are dramatic. The percentage of black women experiencing poverty is at least double that of their white counterparts — in some cases, three or four times greater. Similar differentials are also apparent

Table 11

Poverty Status of Women by SMSA Size, Race, and Age
(in percent)

Poverty status	White		Black	
	14-44	45 and over	14-44	45 and over
Small SMSA's (under 250,000)				
Above low-cost level	87.5	79.2	42.1	51.4
Below low-cost level	12.4	20.9	57.9	48.6
Between poverty and low-cost level	4.8	6.7	19.8	12.0
Below poverty	7.6	14.2	38.1	36.6
Medium SMSA's (250,000-750,000)				
Above low-cost level	86.1	81.0	47.6	53.0
Below low-cost level	13.9	19.1	52.4	47.0
Between poverty and low-cost level	5.0	5.8	13.2	9.1
Below poverty	8.9	13.3	39.2	37.9
Large SMSA's (over 750,000)				
Above low-cost level	91.2	83.4	61.6	63.2
Below low-cost level	8.9	16.6	38.4	36.8
Between poverty and low-cost level	3.2	5.5	12.9	10.5
Below poverty	5.7	11.1	25.5	26.3

Note: Not all columns add up to 100.0 due to rounding.

among those respondents who find themselves in that uneasy economic status between severe poverty and low-cost living levels. Proportions living *above* the low-cost poverty line are related to urban size. For example, among young black women in the smallest SMSA's, 42 percent are above that level; in

the medium-sized areas, nearly 48 percent; and in the largest areas, nearly 62 percent. In other words, the larger the area, the greater the odds for black women being out of poverty.

The relative advantage of older women over younger ones among blacks declines, however, as one ascends the urban-size scale. Among white women, in contrast to blacks, *older* women have a higher poverty rate than younger ones — a finding which certainly deserves further attention.

Regardless of urban size, *younger* white women are more fortunate than older ones. But for blacks, the *opposite* pertains: regardless of urban size, *younger* black women are *less* fortunate than older ones. One of the possible explanations for this contrast may be that poverty in the case of urban whites is likely to be found among widowed and single elderly females who make up a large proportion of whites over 45, while for urban blacks, poverty is to a great extent concentrated among young fatherless families. Each of these conditions (widowhood and absence of a father) is conducive to high poverty risks.

Migration and Socioeconomic Status

Little attention has been paid, even on a descriptive level, to the cityward migration patterns of women of varying ages. The fact that the decision to migrate is typically a function of jobseeking on the part of the *male* household head does not justify the paucity of research in this area. Migration affects the subsequent employment success of wives as well as women heads of households and single women who would make the decision to migrate.

Our data also allow us to consider the relevance of the points of destination to the status of migrating women, and how such women compare with nonmigrants in these areas. Moreover, as Ronald Freedman has suggested,

> Most studies of selective migration have been concerned with differentials in the sending area. However, it is the differentials in the urban receiving area which are of significance for that area. . . . Comparisons of migrants from (place of origin) with nonmigrants in the receiving area are probably the most useful for the students of urban life.[8]

Emphasis here, therefore, has been placed on comparing the employment patterns of younger and older migrants from rural areas with those of their native urban counterparts. To our knowledge, this study is the first attempt to relate the status of rural migrants versus native urbanites according to the size of the area *to* which the former migrate and *in* which the latter are born.

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[8]Ronald Freedman, "Cityward Migration, Urban Ecology, and Social Theory," in Ernest W. Burgess and Donald J. Bogue, eds., *Urban Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 93.

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Labor Force Participation

A comparison between young and old native urbanites and rural migrants with respect to weeks worked in the previous year (Table 12) reveals that:

1. Young white women who are native urbanites have higher participation rates than the old, regardless of SMSA size. Size of area makes little difference in participation rates for the white native urbanites, regardless of age.

2. However, older *black* women who are native urbanites have higher participation rates in the two smallest SMSA-size categories, and about the same as the young in the big metros.

3. Young white rural migrant women have higher participation rates than older women who are also rural migrants. But effect of size of area on participation rates depends on age: *Young* rural migrant women have a smaller proportion in the labor force of the big metros than in the other areas; but for *older* female rural migrants, the larger the area, the *higher* the rate of participation — from 28 percent in the smaller SMSA's, to 33 in the medium areas, to 38 percent in the big metros over 750,000.

4. As in the case of white rural migrant women, participation rates for *black* rural migrant women are highest among the young. Also, size of area has a definite relationship to labor force participation for the black rural migrants, regardless of age, but the relationship is *negative:* the larger the area, the *lower* the participation rate.

5. This negative relationship, as a matter of fact, *also* is found among *young white* rural migrant women, but not among the *older* ones, as Table 13 (page 56) indicates.

Table 14 summarizes the difference between age groups in the proportions of *workers only* who were employed 48 weeks or more, within each migrant status category.

First, among white native urbanites, Table 14 shows that regardless of SMSA size, older employed women have a higher proportion working a full year (48-52 weeks). The difference diminishes, however, as one ascends the SMSA-size ladder. *For the young native urbanites, the proportion working a full year increases according to SMSA size while for the old it decreases.*

Second, among white rural migrants, older women also work a full year to

Table 12

Weeks Women Worked by SMSA Size, Race, Age, and Migration Status

(in percent)

Weeks worked	White				Black			
	14-44		45 and over		14-44		45 and over	
	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant
Small SMSA's (under 250,000)								
0	45.1	35.6	59.3	71.5	43.6	17.3	38.5	34.1
1-26	24.4	24.0	8.9	6.3	18.1	17.6	8.3	13.8
27-47	11.2	16.5	4.3	4.2	9.3	7.5	5.1	24.8
48-52	19.3	23.9	27.5	18.0	28.7	57.6	48.1	27.3
Medium SMSA's (250,000-750,000)								
0	50.4	35.0	59.3	67.2	52.2	32.7	48.7	39.9
1-26	19.5	16.6	6.6	5.4	20.5	27.2	8.6	14.1
27-47	9.1	14.3	6.7	6.3	7.8	15.5	4.6	15.1
48-52	20.9	34.1	27.4	20.1	19.5	24.6	38.1	30.9
Large SMSA's (over 750,000)								
0	49.0	41.8	58.1	62.2	44.9	35.4	46.0	54.1
1-26	19.3	19.1	7.5	6.6	19.5	18.8	7.9	8.4
27-47	7.4	14.9	8.0	6.9	8.8	15.2	8.7	5.8
48-52	24.4	25.2	26.4	24.3	26.8	30.6	37.3	31.7

a greater extent than do young migrants. In contrast to the native urbanite situation, there is *no* clear-cut relationship to urban size.

Third, for black native urbanite women, the same age difference is found as among white women: these older black women — if employed — work a full year to a greater extent than do the young black women born in that SMSA.

Fourth, among employed Negro rural migrants, older women — except in the smallest SMSA's — work a full year more than the young.

Another finding reflected in the same table is that in the larger SMSA's (and contrary to popular belief) black working women were employed on a full-year basis in greater proportions than white working women, regardless of migrant status.

Table 13

Labor Force Participation Rates of Rural Migrant Women by Size of SMSA, Race, and Age

SMSA size	White		Black	
	14-44	45+	14-44	45+
Under 250,000	64	28	83	66
250,000-750,000	65	33	67	60
Over 750,000	58	38	65	46

Table 14

Percent of Employed Women Working 48 Weeks or More by SMSA Size, Race, Migrant Status, and Age

SMSA size	White				Negro			
	Native urbanite		Rural migrant		Native urbanite		Rural migrant	
	14-44	45+	14-44	45+	14-44	45+	14-44	45+
Under 250,000	35	68	38	64	52	79	70	41
250,000-750,000	42	66	52	61	42	75	37	52
Over 750,000	47	62	43	63	49	69	48	70

Occupation

How do the young and old employed women differ in their occupational status when we take migrant status and urban size into consideration? Table 15 provides information on differential employment patterns by *occupation.* Older native urbanites in the smaller SMSA's seem to have a slight edge over the younger ones, if we use proportions in (1) professional, technical, and managerial positions, on the one hand, and (2) laborers, private household, and other service workers, on the other hand, as indices of status.

We can arbitrarily create here an Index of Occupational Status based on the ratio of the first proportion to the second proportion (see Table 16). The higher the index, the higher the proportion of managers, technicians, and professionals relative to the proportion in the lowest job levels.

Table 16 shows in summary fashion how, in each urban-size and migrant-status category, the younger white women fare in contrast to the older ones. Among native urbanites — *regardless* of urban size — older employed women enjoy a higher occupational status. Among migrants from rural areas, however, such an advantage is not too clear or consistent. In general, urban size does seem to make for higher occupational status for each age and migrant-status category.

For black females, there is a different pattern (see Table 17). In the first place, among native urbanites, the *younger,* rather than the older, black women have the advantage – *in all three urban-size categories.* Except for the smallest SMSA's, the same is true for rural migrant women.

As stated earlier, the single most important index of occupational progress in the case of Negro women — certainly in social terms — is the proportion of such women working as domestic servants — "private household" employment. This one index may be more telling than the one previously presented. The data in Table 18 indicate without question the impact of migrant status and urban size on the occupational status of young versus old Negro women in the labor market.

Table 18 confirms the traditional expectations from the literature about migration, age, and urban size (using the latter as an index of economic opportunity): The group of black females with the *lowest* proportion employed in private households are the *young, native*-born of the largest urban areas; the group with the *highest* are the *old, rural migrants* to the *smallest* urban areas. Within each age and migrant status group, the proportion declines with urban size (albeit very slightly among native urbanite women who are both older and black). The range is from 8 percent in the case of the big metro young native urbanites, to 66 percent in the case of the smallest SMSA's for older rural migrants.

Table 15

Occupation of Employed Women, by SMSA Size, Race, Age, and Migration Status
(in percent)

Occupational classification	White				Black			
	14-44		45 and over		14-44		45 and over	
	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant
Small SMSA's (under 250,000)								
Professional & technical	7	9	9	9	8	3	4	—
Managers	4	2	5	4	[a]	—	[a]	5
Clerical	34	34	37	20	6	—	2	—
Sales	8	5	13	17	1	—	—	—
Craftsmen and operatives	20	20	18	19	14	8	5	12
Private household	8	—	4	—	29	51	45	66
Service	16	27	10	26	31	35	33	17
Laborers	3	2	5	5	9	3	12	—
Medium SMSA's (250,000-750,000)								
Professional & technical	8	14	9	5	3	5	5	2
Managers	4	3	7	—	2	2	[a]	—
Clerical	38	31	27	28	24	2	[a]	3
Sales	8	5	6	19	4	11	6	—
Craftsmen and operatives	18	30	27	22	12	11	15	4
Private household	9	4	5	5	16	27	43	59
Service	15	13	17	19	34	37	28	32
Laborers	[a]	[a]	1	2	5	4	1	—
Large SMSA's (over 750,000)								
Professional & technical	10	15	7	16	5	3	9	3
Managers	3	3	7	5	1	[a]	1	[a]
Clerical	50	36	37	17	34	14	7	4
Sales	9	5	11	5	4	6	6	1
Craftsmen and operatives	11	25	21	28	23	29	15	21
Private household	5	1	3	11	8	15	42	42
Service	12	15	12	15	23	28	19	28
Laborers	[a]	—	[a]	2	2	4	1	—

[a]Less than 1 percent.

Table 16

Index of White Female Occupational Status by SMSA Size, Migrant Status, and Age

SMSA size	Native urbanite		Rural migrant	
	14-44	45+	14-44	45+
Under 250,000	41	74	38	42
250,000-750,000	50	70	100	19
Over 750,000	76	93	113	111

Note: Index derived by taking proportion in professional, technical, and managerial occupations as percentage of proportion in private household, other services, and laborer occupations.

Table 17

Index of Black Female Occupational Status by SMSA Size, Migrant Status, and Age

SMSA size	Native urbanite		Rural migrant	
	14-44	45+	14-44	45+
Under 250,000	12	4	3	6
250,000-750,000	9	7	10	2
Over 750,000	18	16	6	4

Table 18

Percent of Negro Women Employed as Domestic Servants by SMSA Size, Migrant Status, and Age

SMSA size	Native urbanite		Rural migrant	
	14-44	45+	14-44	45+
Under 250,000	29	45	51	66
250,000-750,000	16	43	27	59
Over 750,000	8	42	15	42

Earnings

It is apparent from Table 19 (which is based on all females, with and without earnings) that higher earnings are concentrated among the younger white rural migrants who live in medium-size and large urban areas; one-fifth to one-quarter of the women in this category earned over $4,000 the previous year. For the remaining age, racial, and SMSA-size combinations, migration status appears to bear little relation to earnings.

The detailed data in Table 19 can be summarized for easier comparison by pointing out — among *only* the earners — the proportion of each age group earning at least $4,000. Table 20 shows that *older* women among the white native urbanites enjoy higher earnings, regardless of urban size. For each age group, the larger the area, the higher the proportion of native urbanites earning at least $4,000. For rural migrants, however, there is no clear-cut pattern. Older migrants to the small SMSA's earn more than the young migrants, but *less* in the medium-size SMSA's, and only slightly more in the big metros.

Contrary to the patterns prevailing among whites, the findings for Negro women show *first,* that among native urbanites in the two largest SMSA-size classifications, the *young* enjoy higher earnings; and *second,* that among rural migrants to the urban areas, the young are at a slightly better advantage in the two smallest urban-size categories, but fare no better in the largest areas than the older women (see Table 21).

Among the whites, it is nevertheless interesting to note that (1) young rural migrants enjoyed higher earnings than young native urbanites, regardless of size of SMSA; (2) this is not true in the case of Negroes, however.

The differential distribution of earnings among the migrants from rural areas is, in part, a consequence of the variation in educational background. Social-psychological differences, however, may also have an impact. In an intriguing analysis of migration patterns, Beshers has characterized the decision to move to urban areas as based on one of three separate modes of orientation.[9]

The first type is the "traditional mode" which involves strong customary constraints on decisions. Unlike the other types, this mode of orientation is most appropriate in nonindustrial societies. The "purposive rational" mode refers to a capacity to make extensive calculations of the consequences of the move and to adhere to a plan of action which will maximize the individual's skills. The third or "short-run hedonistic" mode lacks both the influence of

[9]James M. Beshers, *Population Processes in Social Systems* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1967), pp. 137-149.

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Table 19

Dollar Earnings of Women by SMSA Size, Race, Age, and Migration Status

(in percent)

Dollar earnings	White				Black			
	14-44		45 and over		14-44		45 and over	
	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant
Small SMSA's (under 250,000)								
0	45.9	38.2	62.7	74.3	44.3	17.3	39.0	34.1
1-1,999	33.8	36.8	16.7	8.3	39.5	58.8	37.2	59.2
2,000-3,999	13.0	15.2	13.9	7.2	12.5	21.1	16.9	5.6
4,000-5,999	5.9	9.9	4.3	9.0	1.7	1.3	6.6	1.1
6,000 +	1.4	0	2.4	1.2	2.0	1.5	0.3	0
Medium SMSA's (250,000-750,000)								
0	50.9	35.7	61.0	68.0	52.2	32.7	34.0	25.7
1-1,999	25.7	23.1	12.9	15.7	32.1	53.5	48.9	63.8
2,000-3,999	13.1	16.3	12.1	9.2	10.5	10.9	10.8	4.6
4,000-5,999	7.5	20.6	10.1	4.8	4.6	3.0	3.9	0.9
6,000 +	2.9	4.3	3.8	2.3	0.6	0	2.3	0
Large SMSA's (over 750,000)								
0	49.4	43.4	59.4	63.2	45.0	36.9	46.5	54.3
1-1,999	24.5	22.9	12.8	11.8	27.4	30.9	27.8	18.9
2,000-3,999	11.5	13.7	11.4	10.5	16.0	23.1	16.2	20.1
4,000-5,999	11.6	13.6	11.0	9.8	10.0	7.5	5.9	4.7
6,000 +	3.0	6.5	5.3	4.6	1.6	1.5	3.6	1.9

custom which characterizes the traditional mode and the elaborate future orientation of the purposive rational mode. In this instance the individual has a diffuse desire to seek a better life in the city but neglects to take the appropriate preliminary steps to secure it. Consequently the likelihood of achieving occupational success is considerably below that of the individual employing the purposive rational mode.

For the purposes of this analysis, it may be useful to suggest that the "rural migrant" category is composed of women who have migrated on both rational *and* nonrational grounds. Although it is not possible to substantiate this from the data, the mode of orientation which characterized the decision to migrate may bear a direct relationship to the subsequent pattern of employment.

Table 20

Percent of Employed White Women Earning $4,000 or More by SMSA Size, Migrant Status, and Age

SMSA size	Native urbanite		Rural migrant	
	14-44	45+	14-44	45+
Under 250,000	13	18	16	40
250,000-750,000	21	36	39	22
Over 750,000	29	40	36	39

Table 21

Percent of Employed Black Women Earning $4,000 or More by SMSA Size, Migrant Status, and Age

SMSA size	Native urbanite		Rural migrant	
	14-44	45+	14-44	45+
Under 250,000	7	11	3	2
250,000-750,000	11	9	4	1
Over 750,000	21	18	14	14

Education

The findings on educational attainment (Table 22) show (1) that younger females, regardless of migrant status or urban size, have more education than those 45 and older (as should be expected); and (2) that the younger rural

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Table 22

Educational Attainment of Women by SMSA Size, Race, Age, and Migration Status

(in percent)

Educational attainment	White				Black			
	14-44		45 and over		14-44		45 and over	
	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant
Small SMSA's (under 250,000)								
0-8 years	15.5	13.5	38.7	54.3	34.0	26.9	58.6	75.2
9-11 years	33.6	15.3	22.6	13.4	35.6	18.7	32.8	19.7
12 years and over	50.8	71.2	38.7	32.3	30.5	54.5	8.6	5.1
12 years	43.3	55.7	31.9	19.1	22.4	34.5	4.0	4.1
1 year or more college	7.5	15.5	6.8	13.2	8.1	20.0	4.6	1.0
Medium SMSA's (250,000-750,000)								
0-8 years	18.0	20.8	44.4	46.6	20.6	28.8	66.7	75.5
9-11 years	32.1	15.2	24.4	19.5	50.0	40.5	20.6	17.8
12 years and over	50.0	64.0	31.3	34.0	29.4	30.7	12.7	6.7
12 years	40.2	45.5	22.7	19.9	22.0	22.9	5.4	4.7
1 year or more college	9.8	18.5	8.6	14.1	7.4	7.8	7.3	2.0
Large SMSA's (over 750,000)								
0-8 years	12.6	22.7	39.6	49.9	20.8	22.2	50.6	70.9
9-11 years	29.9	17.1	21.9	15.4	38.0	29.3	22.0	14.1
12 years and over	56.6	60.2	38.5	34.6	41.2	48.6	27.4	15.0
12 years	42.3	42.0	28.3	23.0	31.9	39.3	19.0	11.8
1 year or more college	14.3	18.2	10.2	11.6	9.3	9.3	8.4	3.2

migrants of *both races* tend to be better educated than young native urbanites. This finding was *not* expected, however. Among *older* city dwellers the *opposite* is true: with rare exceptions, the native urbanites are better equipped for labor force participation, using education as an index of qualification for work.

The commonly held view that "drifters" and "problem families" compose a majority of rural migrants to urban areas is *not* substantiated by these data or by other empirical analyses. Migrants to cities are drawn from the more favored and vigorous segments of the rural population. Tilly[10] has observed that most cityward migrants tend to be above the average in educational background and occupational skill at their points of origin.

Our data, to repeat, show that young rural migrants — white *and* black — have a higher proportion of high school-educated women than the native urbanites. Furthermore, although the older rural migrants are less well educated than young native urbanites, these women are more likely to be employed. Their job prestige and earnings are also lower. The *young* migrants, in contrast, are *better* educated than the young native urbanites; are employed *more* weeks of the year; and have *lower* earnings.

Table 23 shows that young white women within each migrant status category — as might be expected — are better educated than the old, *regardless* of migrant status. Among the young, however, the rural migrants tend to be better educated than the native urbanites. This, to repeat, contradicts some widely held notions. While the tables in this study do not show it, the same finding applies to the *husbands* of the married women in the OEO data.

Table 23

Percent of White Women With 12 or More Years of Schooling by SMSA Size, Migration Status, and Age

SMSA size	Native urbanite		Rural migrant	
	14-44	45+	14-44	45+
Under 250,000	51	39	71	32
250,000-750,000	50	31	64	34
Over 750,000	57	39	60	35

[10]Charles Tilly, "Race and Migration to the American City," in James Q. Wilson, ed., *The Metropolitan Enigma* (Washington: Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1967).

This report does not present any of the detailed findings pertaining to those women migrating from one urban area to another, yet it is pertinent to note here that such persons ("Mobile Urbanites") have the *highest* educational achievements. Among young whites in the smaller SMSA's, 83 percent have at least a high school diploma; in the medium-sized areas, 76 percent; and in the largest areas, 78 percent. For the older women, the corresponding figures are 71, 52, and 59, respectively.

Young black women, regardless of migrant status or urban size, are better educated than the old. And, *just as in the case of whites,* young rural migrants tend to have more schooling than the young native urbanites (see Table 24).

Table 24

Percent of Negro Women With 12 or More Years of Schooling by SMSA Size, Migration Status, and Age

SMSA size	Native urbanite		Rural migrant	
	14-44	45+	14-44	45+
Under 250,000	31	9	55	8
250,000-750,000	29	13	31	7
Over 750,000	41	27	49	15

For blacks as well as whites, the migrants from *other* urban areas — regardless of age — are superior in terms of years of schooling to the native urbanites. Or, to put it in different words, the native urbanite women — especially among the young — tend to be the *least* educated (see Table 25).

These complete findings suggest that *non*migrants in the urban areas of America have the *lowest* level of schooling, and that such areas *depend* upon migration of persons from rural and *other* urban areas for their supply of better educated residents and employees. Our data do not tell us *where* such migrants received their education, but for our purposes, this is not important. The critical finding is similar to what we already know about persons *not* migrating from *rural* areas, i.e., *non*migrants in our *urban* areas also tend to have less education.

Table 25

Percent of Women With 12 or More Years of Schooling by SMSA Size, Race, Age, and Migration Status

White

SMSA size	14-44			45+		
	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Mobile urbanite	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Mobile urbanite
Under 250,000	51	71	83	39	32	70
250,000-750,000	50	64	76	31	34	52
Over 750,000	57	60	78	38	35	59

Black

SMSA size	14-44			45+		
	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Mobile urbanite	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Mobile urbanite
Under 250,000	31	55	56	9	8	16
250,000-750,000	29	31	50	13	7	32
Over 750,000	41	49	55	27	15	27

Poverty

The findings on family economic status — as indicated by the poverty status of the families of the women in our study — are shown in Table 26. They present perhaps the best single index of the socioeconomic status of these women. Extreme poverty (below the poverty line) is more frequently experienced by white females who have migrated from rural areas than by their counterparts who have always lived in the city. This appears to hold for young as well as old white women.

But for black families the pattern is reversed, particularly in the medium and large areas: Both old and young Negro women who have migrated from rural areas to SMSA's over 250,000 are *less* likely to be in extreme poverty than are the native urbanites. This finding runs counter to much of migration theory and deserves further intensive analysis. It also raises doubts about the widespread belief that urban poverty among blacks is largely due to the influx of migrants.

How do the young and old women compare with each other with respect to proportions of each group *above* the low-cost poverty level developed by

Table 26

Poverty Status of Women by SMSA Size, Race, Age, and Migration Status

(in percent)

Poverty status	White				Black			
	14-44		45 and over		14-44		45 and over	
	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant	Native urbanite	Rural migrant
Small SMSA's (under 250,000)								
Below poverty line	4.9	13.9	14.5	17.9	40.5	46.2	36.3	37.4
Poverty: low-cost	3.6	3.7	8.9	4.2	19.2	36.7	11.6	12.3
Above low-cost	91.5	82.4	76.9	78.0	40.3	17.1	52.1	50.4
Medium SMSA's (250,000-750,000)								
Below poverty line	9.4	13.4	14.4	17.9	41.6	34.8	46.2	40.2
Poverty: low-cost	6.2	6.5	6.0	7.9	12.5	18.7	7.5	7.2
Above low-cost	84.4	80.1	79.6	74.3	45.9	46.5	46.4	52.6
Large SMSA's (over 750,000)								
Below poverty line	4.8	9.3	10.8	13.4	28.3	22.2	30.1	22.6
Poverty: low-cost	2.9	3.4	4.8	7.4	12.8	19.4	9.3	11.6
Above low-cost	92.3	87.3	84.4	79.2	59.0	58.4	60.7	65.8

the Social Security Administration? For whites, among *both* the native urbanites and the rural migrants, *young* women are better off than the old in this respect. At the same time, there is no clear-cut relationship between above-poverty status and urban size, except possibly in the case of the older native urbanite women (see Table 27).

In *contrast* to the finding for whites, *older* black women tend to be in a better position than young ones, as far as poverty is concerned, regardless of migration status. The blacks are also different from the white women in that their poverty status *does* tend to be related to urban size: the larger the SMSA, the higher proportion of each of their age groups living *above* the low-cost poverty line (see Table 28).

Table 27

Percent of White Women in Families Above the "Low-Cost" Poverty Level by SMSA Size, Migration Status, and Age

SMSA size	Native urbanite		Rural migrant	
	14-44	45+	14-44	45+
Under 250,000	92	77	82	78
250,000-750,000	84	80	80	74
Over 750,000	92	84	87	79

Table 28

Percent of Negro Women in Families Above the "Low-Cost" Poverty Level by SMSA Size, Migration Status, and Age

SMSA size	Native urbanite		Rural migrant	
	14-44	45+	14-44	45+
Under 250,000	40	52	17	50
250,000-750,000	46	46	47	53
Over 750,000	59	61	58	66

Conclusions

In this study we have explored a neglected area, the relationship of socio-economic conditions of women residing in urban areas to their age and migration status. The nature of their occupation, the portion of the year em-

ployed, earnings, and their overall economic (poverty) status constituted our "success" measures. Marital status, race, educational background, health, size of area of residence, and migration status, as well as age, were our major "predictor variables."

Among our major findings are the following:

1. Over time, the major gain in labor force participation rates has been experienced by married women in the 20-24 and 35-54-year-old groupings.[11] Even in these categories, however, less than half the women participate in the labor force. Child spacing, rising consumption desires and living costs, tempered by cultural proscriptions against female employment, as well as discriminatory hiring practices, have contributed in different ways to this trend.

   In the case of women 55-64, their participation rate is now more than 50 percent of the rate for men of the same age. Twenty years ago it was less than one-third (31 percent) the male rate. Projections for 1980 indicate that for this older age group, the female rate will climb to nearly three-fifths the rate for men. These trends are bound to bring about major changes in the relative status of older women in American society.

2. Distinct differences in employment patterns by age, race, and size of metropolitan urban population were also observed. Despite their general occupational disadvantage — relative to whites — young female blacks in the large metropolitan areas tend to reject the demeaning occupational status of domestic worker that typifies older blacks. Interestingly, it is among the *older* and not the younger whites that the holders of the most prestigious and remunerative occupations are found. The marked educational advantage which the younger blacks have over their older counterparts is manifested in the former group's greater success. Younger blacks and older whites nevertheless have a significant percentage in poverty — in large part because of the absence of a male breadwinner.

   The traditional expectations regarding age, race, migration, and SMSA size were, for the most part, confirmed. For example, the lowest proportion of blacks employed in private households were found among the young born in the largest areas, and the largest proportion among the older migrants to the smaller urban areas. Upward mobility thus tends to be more characteristic of the former than of the latter group.

3. Older women (45 and over) have lower labor force participation rates,

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[11] In passing, we should state here that an increase in labor force participation on the part of married women is not to be taken in every case as a sign of "progress." It may often be a result of necessity — not choice — on the part of the wife or her husband.

but if they do work at all, they tend to work a fuller year than do younger ones — regardless of race or urban size of residence.

4. Among the older employed *white* women, earnings are higher than for the young. But this is not true among black women.

5. Perhaps the most surprising finding deals with the pattern of educational differences among younger women. In this age group, migrants of both races from rural areas have had substantially more years of schooling than their native urban counterparts. Thus the popular view of migrants as "drifters" is not confirmed by these data; instead they appear to be drawn from the more favored and vigorous segment of the population. Or it may be that native urbanites who do *not* migrate from their home areas to *other* urban areas tend to be the less educated. Among the *older* women, however, the native urbanites fare better educationally than rural migrants.[12]

   Urban size clearly makes a difference when it comes to the education of older black women. In the smaller SMSA's, less than 10 percent have a high school diploma, far below the 24 percent for those in the big metros.

6. Regardless of urban size, older white women have a *higher* poverty rate than the young. But for blacks, the relative positions of the young and old are *reversed:* older black women have *lower* poverty rates than the young, but these differences tend to diminish in the larger SMSA's.

7. Marked age differences in the effect of health on work performance were reported by women of both races in all three SMSA sizes. Given the large number of women 45-64 who work, one suspects the health variable is of the variety that "limits" rather than "prevents" employment.

* * * * * *

Despite the long-term trend of the past, we will probably continue to have an *under*-utilization of the female working-age population — both in terms of their participation in the labor force, and their occupational status (especially employment in positions below their skill potentials). Our data suggest that this problem will be especially acute among *older black* migrants to the *smaller* urban areas.

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[12]The possibility of wide variation in the age at which migration occurred makes this finding less conclusive.

The Emerging Pattern of Second Careers

Perhaps the biggest threat to the human race at the moment is not so much the nuclear weapon as the possibility of eliminating the aging process. . . . If we could rearrange the human genetic structure to program death at the age of 1,000 rather than at 70 . . . the human race would face the highest crisis of its existence, a crisis which I illustrate easily to an academic audience by asking them who wants to be an assistant professor for 500 years?

Kenneth Boulding, *Washington Post,* September 6, 1970

The popular press recently has dramatized a number of case studies of individuals, mostly men in professional and business positions, who have made drastic leaps from one type of occupation to another seemingly incongruous one. Call it the middle-age work crisis, male menopause, mid-career depression, or anything else. There do seem to be greater signs of this type of phenomenon, or at the very least, counselors and other persons in related behavioral sciences may be conceptualizing old problems into new bottles.

The critical point is that such a phenomenon does exist — apart from the issue of whether it is any more extensive today than it was in the past. However, I would argue that it is more extensive — at least more salient than it was in the past. I would also submit that our popular mentality — perhaps even the academic literature — is dominated by the single career concept, the notion that an individual should have a single lifetime occupational role-identity. Perhaps in a more traditional, i.e., a slowly, if ever-changing, society, it made sense from both the individual and societal points of view to stress the acquisition of a single set of skills to be used during one's working life — which, by the way, wasn't very long, to begin with.

But today the average age at death is higher, and the social and physical technology of the environment is constantly in flux. Longevity increases the probability that a number of intervening experiences — environmental and subjective — will affect the individual's occupational self-identity and his continued interest in a given occupation.

Changing technology is naturally accompanied by changes in the skills necessary to use that technology. One of the critical points here is that our sources of socialization — chiefly the family and the school — do little, if anything, to prepare members of society for multicareers *prior* to their entering the world of work. Such preparation need not be strictly devoted to actual acquisition of specific task skills of widely varying character. Perhaps it would be more relevant to prepare young people *psychologically* for the fact that before they die they will have entered a variety of somewhat differing jobs.

Another critical point is that, with perhaps the exception of the military establishment, our *other* institutions which actually or potentially touch the lives of *adults*, are doing little, if anything, to make it possible for middle-aged and older persons to enter really new and different occupations. In fact, one could make a case for the proposition that such institutions do everything in their power to discourage and make it *impossible* to facilitate occupational change. A more charitable proposition would be that, in our effort to solve certain problems and to achieve other goals, we have developed solutions and mechanisms that — without malice or deliberate intent — function today as anachronistic obstacles to the encouragement and facilitation of second careers. Typical examples include certain provisions of pension plans, narrow-range seniority rules, and early retirement as a so-called solution to unemployment or other personnel problems.

Dr. Thomas Green, of Syracuse University's Educational Policy Research Center, has argued before the House of Representatives Committee on Science and Astronautics that the postindustrial society will have to be based on the cultivation of knowledge, rather than on craft skills.

> The idea of reshaping the education system to encourage multiple careers by individuals and even provide for occasional "moratoriums from productive work" was presented by Dr. Green.
>
> "Surely there is nothing more damaging to the human spirit than the knowledge — or belief — that one's capacities are unused, unwanted, or expended in something of no particular value.
>
> "Who knows what human misery would be relieved and what human energies released if the possibility of multiple careers were the rule, and if there were, as a consequence, ready means of entry and exit to and from new avenues of work."[1]

Let me cite one more possible factor that may be involved in the emergence of concern about flexible (or second) careers, namely, the saliency among adults of a discrepancy between original aspirations and mid-life achievements. It is interesting, and at first paradoxical to some observers, that amount of education is positively related to the tendency among employed men to define work as an activity that is not enjoyed or required. This is a finding of a 1959 study of Detroit workers by Robert Weiss and Robert Kahn. They suggest their own explanations for this finding, but the one I want to add here is derived from a discussion by Orville Brim, in his survey of adult socialization research.[2] In that discussion Brim points out that the greater the person's

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[1] "Panel Examines New Technology," *New York Times*, January 30, 1970.

[2] *Socialization and Society*, edited by John A. Clausen (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968), pp. 203-205.

educational achievements, the higher his aspirations; *but* that higher aspirations are accompanied by a higher risk of *non*achievement of those aspirations.

Brim says that a person "handles these discrepancies for a long period of time by successively displacing fulfillment of aspirations into the future, but the day of reckoning does come." For some persons, this displacement of aspirations into the future continues for an indefinite length of time. The point I wish to make is that persons whose occupational achievements do not equal their original aspirations come to look upon their jobs as something which must be performed but not necessarily enjoyed. Such persons may constitute the group for whom second-career opportunities may be the most critical. I want to return shortly to some empirical research of my own, which may shed more light on the question of identifying such persons as candidates for second careers.

This point of view can be strengthened by such arguments as the need for upgrading middle-level workers and professionals to "make room" for lower working class men and women who complain about being in dead end jobs; the needs of society for more people to perform higher level functions and public service functions now in sad neglect; and the need for workers today to be "loose" when it comes to overidentification with one occupation in times of high unemployment. In a study of unemployed workers by the Upjohn Institute, it was found that workers who looked for jobs really different from what they had been doing regularly had a higher jobfinding success rate.[3]

I now want to present some findings of my own which may shed some light on the characteristics of potential candidates for mid-career development in the adult male working class population. Little attention has been paid to the problem among men who are *not* in the professional and executive classes. During the months of July and August 1970, interviews with approximately 300 white male union members in four selected urban areas of Pennsylvania were conducted. The interviews concentrated primarily on working conditions, job satisfaction, social and political attitudes and behavior, and related topics. The material presented here is based on interviews with 140 of these workers 40 years of age or older. Thirty-five percent of these men may be considered candidates for second careers. The 49 individuals in this group are operationally so defined here because of their qualifying responses to two key questions:

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[3]Harold L. Sheppard and A. Harvey Belitsky, *The Job Hunt* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966).

Question	Response qualifying individual as second-career candidate
How often have you thought very seriously about making a real effort to *enter* a *new* and *different* type of occupation:	
Very often? Once in a while? Hardly ever? Never? Already did it?	Very often; Once in a while; or Already did it.
Suppose your employer, the government, your union, or some *other* organization offered you a training and education program (with enough money to support yourself and family) to make it possible to get a promotion with the employer you have now, *or* to get a much better job somewhere else:	
Would you choose the program leading to a promotion with your present employer? Or the program leading to a better job somewhere else? Or would you just not take *any* program like that?	With present employer; or Better job elsewhere.

I want to present here in brief fashion the preliminary results of a comparison of these 49 candidates with the 91 *non*candidates for second careers.

First, let me cite the variables on which there is little or no difference between the candidates and noncandidates for second careers. Three items are especially important. *One,* there is little difference between the two types insofar as their hourly wages or adequacy of take-home pay is concerned. *Second,* the same is true regarding family income: they are virtually identical. *Economic* factors apparently do not provide us with any understanding of the problem. *Third,* there is no overwhelming contrast regarding education although one might expect to find the higher education level among the candidate group since they tend to be somewhat younger. The critical point is that the usually considered economic variables such as income and/or the adequacy of take-home pay do not appear to contribute to understanding the second-career candidates, or their desire to change to really different occupations.

Comparison of Candidates and Noncandidates for Second Careers, White Male Union Members 40 or More Years Old

Item	Candidates for second careers (percent)	Noncandidates for second careers (percent)
1. Age		
40-54	71	57
55-59	17	29
60 +	12	14
	100	100
2. High achievement values[a]	67	47
3. If completely free, would prefer some other job to the kind he now has	41	25
4. Has *actually* tried to get into a line of work really different from any he has been in	37	18
5. Above average chance, or excellent chance of mobility opportunities on present job	10	34
6. High aspiration-achievement discrepancy index[a]	51	36
7. Low job autonomy[a]	48	29
8. Stated that *job rotation* is a very good idea	57	40
9. Satisfied with job "most of the time"	41	60
10. Feels that employers and/or unions doing "too much" in getting good training or good jobs for minority groups like Negroes and Puerto Ricans	33	16
11. Earns $3.50 per hour or less	45	42
12. Says that his own *take-home* pay is good enough to take care of family's usual bills and expenses	67	71
13. Reported *family* income		
Under $8,000	33	33
$10,000 and over	37	36
14. High school diploma	46	39

[a]See pages 78-79 for statements and questions used to measure or define variables cited in table.

It is rather in the social-psychological sphere that the differences appear. For example, the candidates for second careers have higher achievement values, and I suspect that if we had administered McClelland's projective test, they would also register higher on *N Ach* (achievement motivation).[4] As further indication of this, on a *behavorial* level, a higher proportion of the candidates reported that they actually have tried to get into a really different kind of work.

The other variables on which the candidates stand out as different — their lower perceived mobility chances in their current jobs; their greater preference for a different job from the one they have now, if completely free to go into any type of job they wanted; their lower job satisfaction — all point to a group of men who would benefit from a more structured opportunity program enabling them to shift to new and different kinds of work life. Their apparent job discontent or greater aspirations for a different kind of job — however one may choose to characterize these men — plus the higher gap between their aspirations and their actual achievements, may lead to some socially undesirable positions. Witness the one-third of them who feel that employers and/or unions have done too much to help minority groups — a proportion *twice* that among the *non*candidates. That they are really more discontented, or more ambitious, or more restless is further confirmed by the fact (not reported in the table) that nearly one-half of the candidates (45 percent) said they would choose a training or education program that would lead them to a better job *away from their present employer.* In contrast, among the group of noncandidates some *did* say they'd take a training program,[5] but only one-sixth (16 percent) would choose a program for a better job elsewhere.

One of the most provoking findings is the high proportion of the second-career candidates who expressed feelings of a low degree of autonomy on their jobs, as measured by the statements and questions (see pages 78-79), and adapted from Turner's and Lawrence's research reported in their *Industrial Jobs and the Worker.*[6] These men feel that they have little or no

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[4]Without resorting to technical psychological definitions, achievement motivation refers to the individual's willingness and tendency to develop and exploit opportunities, to persist, and to excel in situations leading to success or failure.

[5]Noncandidates for second careers included some workers choosing a training program opportunity, but they had rarely or never seriously thought about making a real effort to enter a new and different type of occupation — thus disqualifying them as second-career candidates.

[6]Arthur N. Turner and Paul R. Lawrence, *Industrial Jobs and the Worker* (Boston: Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, 1965).

freedom to do their jobs as they want to, and can use little or none of their potential ideas and skills on their current jobs. Very few of them (10 percent) reported an excellent chance to advance themselves or to be promoted in their present work situations. This contrasts with the more than one-third of the noncandidates who — it should be noted again — are by definition either not interested in changing occupations or not willing to take an upgrading training or education program, or *neither* interested *nor* willing.

When we combine any two of the three variables (1) achievement values, (2) aspiration-achievement discrepancy, and (3) autonomy on the job, the differences between the candidates and noncandidates become even more striking. The ratio of the proportion of candidates with high achievement values *and* a high aspiration-achievement discrepancy to the proportion of *non*candidates with the same social-psychological attributes is more than 2.5 to 1 (33 versus 13 percent); the proportion of candidates with high discrepancy *and* low job autonomy is in a ratio of more than 2.8 to 1 (27 versus 9.5 percent); and in the case of those with low job autonomy *and* high achievement values, the ratio is 4 to 1 (28 percent versus 7 percent)!

* * * * * *

In summary, one might say that there *is* a malaise among a significant portion of white male workers in America — the "blue-collar blues," to use a recently coined journalistic expression. Much of this relates, it seems to me, to a growing need for flexible or second careers among such persons. The same may be said even for the technician and professional classes in our society. Neither do I exclude the growing numbers of minority group members of our labor force. (We may be dealing here with a new or growing symptom of the nature of our industrial or "post-industrial" society.) I have presented here one suggestion for identifying such persons and have also indicated some of the social-psychological dimensions in which they differ substantially from the so-called noncandidates. This approach might help contribute to a program that conceivably could combine an improved counseling and education effort designed to improve the work lives and social environment of the contemporary generation of men and women in our constantly changing, tense society.

Statements and Questions Used To Measure or Define Variables Cited in Table

Achievement Values[1]

Degree of agreement or disagreement:

1. In his work, all a person should want is a secure, not-too-difficult job, with enough pay for a nice car and home.
2. Nowadays a person has to pretty much live for today and let *tomorrow* take care of itself.
3. When a person is born, the success he will have is in the cards, so he may as well accept it.
4. It is best to have a job as part of an organization all working together, even if you don't get individual credit.
5. Don't expect too much out of life; be content with what comes your way.
6. Planning only makes a person unhappy since his plans hardly ever work out anyway.

Discrepancy Between Aspiration and Achievement

1. How well would you say your job measures up to the kind you wanted when you *first* took it? Is it very much like the kind of job you wanted? Somewhat like the job you wanted? *Or,* not very much like the kind you wanted?
2. Compared with what you had hoped for when you finished school, are you better off than you hoped for at that time? Not as well off? Or just about as well off as you *had* hoped for?
3. Compared with where you were 10 years ago, are you further ahead in the things you've wanted out of life? Behind? *Or* just about the *same* as where you were 10 years ago?

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[1]From Bernard Rosen's research. His concept of achievement values is more directly related to the economic success facet of human behavior, particularly with regard to interclass mobility. Whether a person strives for success in this sense depends upon his awareness and willingness to undertake the steps necessary for achievement: (1) to plan, (2) to work, and (3) to make sacrifices.

Perceived Autonomy on the Job[2]

1. Which statement best describes the kind of job you have?
   I have *no* freedom at all to do my work as I want.
   I have *little* freedom to do my work as I want.
   I am *fairly free* to do my work as I want.
   I am completely free to do my work as I want.

2. Which one of the following items best describes how much of their *potential ideas and skills* are being used on the job by the people working on the same general kind of job as yours?
   Almost *none* of what they can offer.
   About *one-fourth* of what they can offer.
   About *half* of what they can offer.
   About *three-fourths* of what they can offer.
   Almost *all* of what they can offer.

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[2]Arthur N. Turner and Paul R. Lawrence, *Industrial Jobs and the Worker* (Boston: Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, 1965).

The Potential Role of Behavioral Science in the Solution of the "Older Worker Problem"[1]

Many of the social and psychological dilemmas of today's elderly Americans (say, those 70 and over) have roots in yesterday's economic and social patterns that affected the aged when they were adult workers or seekers of work. The disproportionate attention paid by sociologists and psychologists today to infant developmental periods as the overwhelming (if not the only) determinant of later behavioral patterns and personality structures, and the current preoccupation of politicians and administrators with problems of youth (either on the campus or on the street), have led to a relative neglect of the older worker and his problems.

Statistics Offer Insight

And yet a great deal of the aggregate statistical data that are available for analysis contain some provocative signs of many sorts of "iceberg" phenomena that deserve greater research, treatment, and policy attention. For example:

1. In 1969, of the total unemployed population 16-64, 19 percent were over the age of 45, but among the long-term unemployed (15 weeks and longer), one-third were in this age group.

2. The problem seems to be especially severe among men. Of all unemployed men in 1969, 21 percent were 45 and over, but among the long-term unemployed, 37 percent were in this upper age group. The more recent 1970-71 unemployment picture has served only to aggravate this problem.

3. The acute problem of the long-term unemployed older jobseeker can be seen in better perspective, perhaps, if we consider that among all *teenage* unemployed, only 8 percent were unemployed 15 weeks or more, and that in this very small group (67,000 with 15 or more weeks of joblessness) a very small minority — 18 percent — actually had become *dis*employed. The remainder had left their jobs voluntarily, were reentering the labor force, or were entering it for the first time in their lives. Furthermore, a large number

[1]Much of this article is based on materials by the author and his colleagues. See Harold L. Sheppard, "The Relevance of Age to Worker Behavior in the Labor Market," *Journal of Industrial Gerontology*, February 1969; Harold L. Sheppard and A. Harvey Belitsky, *The Job Hunt: Job-Seeking Behavior of Unemployed Workers in a Local Economy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), 270 pp.; and Harold L. Sheppard, ed., *Toward an Industrial Gerontology: An Introduction to a New Field of Applied Research and Service* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1970), 165 pp.

of the youthful jobseekers were looking only for part-time or seasonal (summer vacation) jobs. When measured as a percentage of all the long-term unemployed under the age of 65, teenagers in 1969 were only 19 percent — against 33 percent in the case of the 45-plus group.

4. Among this latter group constituting one-third of the long-term unemployed, relatively few persons have participated in Manpower Development and Training Act programs. In 1969 we find that only 10.3 percent of the trainees were 45 and over; the figure has never been higher than 11 percent (in 1966 and 1967) since the full program began in 1963. Indeed, the 10.3 percent participation rate for this group in 1969 is the lowest in MDTA's short history — and that year older jobseekers among the long-term unemployed were the highest proportion in years. Clearly, some form of "differential treatment" is at play in the processes and decisionmaking involving key occupants of major roles in the labor market systems of our society.

5. It is clear, at least in this writer's opinion, that while our society and economy have evolved over the past two decades to the point where mature *women* are much more a part of our world of work (outside the home, earning wages and salaries) than in the past, the *opposite* development is taking place among *men* of corresponding ages. Take, for example, the facts in the following table.

Table 1

Percentage of Adult-Age Men and Women Participating in Labor Force 1947 and 1969

Sex	Year	All ages 16+	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Men	1947	86.8	98.0	95.5	89.6	47.8
	1969	80.9	97.0	94.6	83.4	27.2
Women ...	1947	37.8	36.3	32.7	24.3	8.1
	1969	42.7	49.9	53.8	43.1	9.9

Source: Manpower Report of the President, 1970, Table A-2, pp. 215-17.

In each age group the participation rate among men has *declined* over the past two decades, but has *increased* in the case of women. Part of this development is related to the societal shift to a service-dominated urban economy which apparently offers greater opportunities for women, especially in job roles culturally defined as "female" jobs. But for women as well as men, the participation rate begins to decline during or after the 45-54 period of life.

Another factor — education — does play a vital role in the job fate of persons as they grow older.[2] For example, the median schooling of men in the 1959 labor force when they were 45-54 years old was 10.4 years. Ten years later, among the men still alive *and* still in the labor force — when they were thus 55-64 years old — the median years of schooling was slightly higher, 10.9 years. The comparable figures for women were 11.7 and 12.1 years. These facts suggest indirectly that over a 10-year period the chances for any group of adult workers to remain in the labor market will be greater, the higher their level of schooling. At least, this proposition must be considered operable under *current* private and public personnel policies.

Reexamination of Policy

But what happens if we begin to reexamine those policies? And more critically, what happens as a result of the secular trend toward a narrower and narrower gap between the level of schooling among *older* workers and *younger* workers? To put it another way, to what extent will the younger workers of *today* (with their high levels of education) willingly drop out of the labor force *tomorrow* when they grow into their late forties and fifties and sixties? If I read my educational statistics properly, the gap at any one time

Table 2

Median Schooling of Older Labor Force Members as Percentage of Median of Younger Members 1959 and 1969

Sex	Year	Median schooling		A as percentage of B
		45-54 (A)	25-34 (B)	
Males	1959	10.4	12.3	80.0
	1969	12.2	12.6	96.8
Females	1959	11.7	12.3	95.1
	1969	12.3	12.5	98.4

Source: Manpower Report of the President, 1970, Table B-11, p. 256.

[2]Year by year, adults with inferior education are being "eased" out of the labor force. For example, in 1950, men 35-44 with less than a high school diploma had a higher rate of participation in the labor force than men of the same age and schooling 17 years later in 1967. During the same period, men 35-44 with a college degree registered an increase in labor force participation. For details, see testimony by C. Killingsworth on "Rising Unemployment: A 'Transitional' Problem?" before the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, March 25, 1970.

between the median schooling of one generation of workers and the schooling of a younger generation of workers will grow increasingly *narrow*. In 1959 the median schooling of male workers 45-54 years old was only 80 percent of that of the 25-34-year-old group. Ten years later, in 1969, the typical 45-54-year-old worker's education (as measured in median years) was nearly *equal* to that for the group 20 years younger — 97 percent.

Behavioral scientists, economists, and public officials should be interested in tracing, during the remainder of this century, the outcome of this type of trend. My predictions about the outcome are based on a number of assumptions, including the following:

1. Work will continue to remain a basic source of identity and self-image.
2. Education affects self-concept and expectations from others.
3. There are limits to the extent to which the working-age population will want to pay for decent living standards of a growing retired population.

Given these assumptions, I believe that the change in the relative education level of older workers will result in a decline in the apparent lack of resistance of older workers to forced retirement (whether explicit or implicit), and that this decline will be reinforced by an increased unwillingness of the young working population to support a higher ratio of older dependents.

In this connection, it is significant that in 1967 (the latest year for which this type of statistic is available), 68 percent of all persons 60 and 61 years old had some type of work experience, but for those 62-64 years old, the proportion was as low as 60 percent, and for the 65-69 age group, only 38 percent. More and more workers are leaving the labor force *before* the age of 65, and a large proportion of these people are not truly retiring on a voluntary basis. As of 1968 — a period in which we had one of the lowest unemployment rates in history (2.8 for men; 4.7 for women) — about one-half of all the men filing for Social Security benefits were *under* 65, and they included a rather large proportion with poor employment records prior to retirement, and with little else in the way of sources for supplemental retirement income such as private pensions.

Table 3 shows, for 1967, the dramatic drop from ages 60 and 61 to ages 62-64 in the percentage of men working full time for at least 40 weeks — from 77 to less than 64 percent.[3] This amounts to a decline rate of nearly

[3]If we had restricted the analysis to those working full time at least 50 weeks a year, the contrasts would be even greater.

18 percent. If trend data were available, they would probably show that prior to 1967 the decline rate was much lower, and that since 1967 it has been higher.

Table 3

Percentage of Population Working 40 or More Weeks Full Time, by Age and Sex 1967

Sex	Total, 16 and over	45-54	55-59	60 and 61	62-64	65-69
Both sexes ...	44.2	61.4	56.8	51.6	42.1	18.2
Male	65.8	87.5	81.7	77.0	63.5	29.0
Female	25.0	37.1	34.0	28.9	23.4	9.1

Source: Based on Forrest A. Bogan, "Work Experience of the Population in 1967," *Monthly Labor Review*, June 1969.

Furthermore, such data would, no doubt, also reveal that the "dependency ratio" — in this case, the number of nonworking persons 60-69 for every 100 workers 16-59 — has been increasing.[4] In a period which will be characterized by increasing demands for decent income maintenance *levels* for elderly retired persons (to be met primarily through Social Security taxes on the working population), we may find resistance on the part of that working population to provide such decent income levels to larger and larger numbers of retirees.

Each year sees an increasing number of men and women reaching the now critical age of 62, the age at which most persons with work experience are eligible for Social Security benefits. This fact is critical, partly because we now know that unemployed workers exhausting their eligibility for unemployment compensation are disproportionately made up of those in their sixties — and once such benefit exhaustion occurs, the next straw to grasp is "retirement" under reduced Social Security benefits at age 62. In 1950 about 1.3 million persons reached the age of 62; by 1969 the figure had climbed to 1.7 million. Table 4 provides the annual average number for four periods of time since 1950.

[4]We do know that older persons have become an increasing proportion of the adult nonworking population. For example, among men 16 and older not in the labor force, those 55 and older constituted 48 percent in 1947, but in 1969, 57 percent; for women, the proportions moved from 27 percent to 37 percent in the same 22-year period.

Table 4

Annual Average Number of Persons Reaching 62
1950 to 1969
(in thousands)

Years	Number
1950-55	1,318
1955-60	1,425
1960-65	1,521
1965-69	1,639

The main thrust of this discussion is that we may be moving toward a period in which greater efforts may have to be made to reduce the unnecessary and nonfunctional reasons for early retirement, in an effort to keep the dependency ratio at more tolerable levels, and to make retirement much more a question of an *option* on the part of the individual worker, coupled with a *functional* diagnosis of his employability based on factors other than year of birth.

Areas of Study for Behavioral Scientists

The behavioral scientist might be interested in other researchable aspects of the older-worker issue, for example, the *discouragement process* wherein the unemployed older worker becomes progressively demotivated to continue his job search, and then ultimately may stop the search altogether. The longer an unemployed worker is unsuccessful in finding reemployment, the lower his active efforts to search effectively for a job. Once he stops his search, he is then no longer defined officially as among the unemployed. Thus it is possible, within official circles, to dismiss or minimize the unemployment problem among older workers. The administrative defense of, or convenient explanation for, such dropouts from the labor force has frequently been that they had low motivation in the first place, or that illness has been the reason for the decline in labor force participation rates.

These two beliefs are then the basis for curtailing any further attention to the problem. But the alert behavioral scientist may ask:

1. What is being done to maintain or enhance the motivational level of the older worker, not only through innovative techniques of counseling and psychotherapy, but also more directly through retraining in occupational skills with training techniques based specifically on knowledge about learning among older jobseekers?

2. What is being done to reorient the gatekeepers (e.g., employment agency and company personnel) in the job-hunt path of the job-seeker, concerning the latest findings regarding employability and work capacity of such persons?

3. To what degree is illness an *effect* of job loss and the discouragement process, and not merely the *cause* of nonparticipation in the labor force?

On this last point there is some evidence that loss of job can have direct and indirect psychosomatic consequences, and also that poor health, as a *self*-designated reason for nonparticipation, is a socially acceptable and ego-acceptable explanation. While it is no doubt true that an overriding basis for nonparticipation in the work force is poor health *not* related to job experiences, I am convinced that a sizable minority of those persons offering illness as the explanation for their nonparticipation have been subjected to loss-of-job experiences *before* they moved to the stage in which illness was their proffered explanation to the government interviewer.

Dr. Sidney Cobb, of The University of Michigan's Public Health School, is now engaged in some exciting studies of the medical impact of the unemployment experience. Alfred Slote, who has had access to some of Cobb's preliminary findings, has written a quasi-novel, *Termination: The Closing at Baker Plant,* around this theme. When the middle-aged men in that plant lost the situational roots through which they had defined themselves (as long-term employed workers), they began to manifest psychological and physical symptoms beyond the level of statistical norms.

One can then imagine what their answers would be to the government interviewer's question, "What was the main reason you have not looked for a job in the past month?" Multiply this type of situation by the hundreds of cases of plant shutdowns, relocations, and mass layoffs that occur — even in times of economic growth — and you get a sizable input into the statistical tables that are then used to justify the low level of attention paid to the older-worker problem.

"Illness" and "low motivation" thus arrest any further interest or action. They should instead be considered as targets of analytic and operational concern.

There is much to be done in studying the changes in job aspirations and motivations of workers as they grow into their forties and fifties, as a basis for designing possible improvements in their work lives. Such improvements should also include second careers as a solution to some of the job malaise that is apparently getting increased attention. The need for developing work

flexibility over the total life span is a topic of major concern, and is being promoted by such persons as Robert Havighurst.[5]

On the question of motivation, second careers, and related concepts, we found in one study that unemployed older workers (over 38) who had made efforts to find work "really different" from what they had usually done were more successful in finding reemployment;[6] such workers were also characterized by higher achievement motivation (*N Ach* as defined and measured by David McClelland and others).[7]

Furthermore, among those older workers expecting a callback from their previous employers, the ones with high *N Ach* were more likely to search and find a new job than those with lower motivation. The same result was found when using a measure of *achievement values* as defined and measured by Bernard Rosen.[8]

Workers in the Job Hunt project were also asked about their *self-conception* regarding their age — how old they *felt* themselves to be. Even when "actual" chronological age was controlled, jobfinding success was found to be related to their self-image regarding age. For example, workers 39 and older who called themselves "young" had a reemployment rate almost identical to that for workers who were young in *both* the chronological and subjective meanings, 81 versus 85 percent. On the other hand, the under-39 group calling themselves "middle-aged" or older had a reemployment rate of only 63 percent; and for those middle-aged or older on both counts, their jobfinding success was only 55 percent.

Differences between young and old jobseekers tended, in other words, to

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[5]See, for example, his "Work, Leisure and Education: Towards the Goal of Creating Flexible Life Styles," *The Gerontologist*, Vol. 9, No. 4, Part II (Winter 1969), pp. 17-35.

[6]Harold L. Sheppard and A. Harvey Belitsky, *The Job Hunt: Job-Seeking Behavior of Unemployed Workers in a Local Economy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), 270 pp.

[7]Achievement motivation, a concept based on a pioneering work by David McClelland and John Atkinson, refers to an individual's behavioral tendency to persist and excel in situations involving success or failure, a tendency measured by such techniques as the Thematic Apperception Test, instead of the usual agreement-disagreement with a number of verbal statements. For a brief description of this concept and its theoretical and practical use, see McClelland's "Achievement Motivation Can Be Developed," *Harvard Business Review*, 43 (1965), 6-14, 20-23, 178.

[8]Rosen's concept of achievement values is more directly related to the economic success facet of human behavior, particularly with regard to interclass mobility. Whether a person strives for success in this sense depends upon his awareness and willingness to take the steps necessary for achievement: (1) to plan, (2) to work, and (3) to make sacrifices.

"wash out" when social-psychological variables were used as explanatory variables in the analysis of worker behavior in the labor market. Behavioral scientists must be aggressive in pointing out the dangers in the use by policy-makers of statistical *averages*, especially those categorizing individuals only by age. Generalizations derived from *averages* in the work performance and job market behavior of older workers are a tenuous basis for theory-building, or for designing programs to solve problems. Skill levels, previous schooling, and the like, are highly important in determining the work fate of adult job-seekers, but we now know that each of these factors in turn is affected by social-psychological factors. We need not only to improve the skill levels and compensate for the low schooling of such men and women, but also to help them overcome their lowered levels of motivation, their anxieties about re-employment chances (which can act as agents of the self-fulfilling prophecy), and their self-images.

It goes without saying that even with the best of skill qualifications and schooling, as well as the "healthiest" of expectations and aspirations, older persons still face obstacles in the job market such as the stereotypes about age and work that affect the hiring practices of employers.[9] Here, too, there is a major role for behavioral scientists to play by presenting in an effective manner the factual basis of the potentials of older persons — the fundamental irrelevance of age *per se* — in assessing the employability of *individual* men and women who have every right to continue, if they so desire, as members of society's productive working population. In other words, *institutional* factors, and not just individual characteristics of a demographic or social-psychological nature, must also be scrutinized in any effort by social scientists to be of use in solving the older-worker issue.

We have been drifting into a pattern of labor market behavior that has increasingly negative consequences for the older worker, especially the male older worker. A large part of this drift is a counterpart to our national value system that defines retirement (the earlier the better) as a clear sign of undiluted social progress. The negative consequences have been objectively taking place among *individuals*, and not among persons feeling themselves subjectively as members of a group defined in terms of age. At the present time few older persons (say, those 55 and older) are influenced in their behavior and attitudes by any reference group based on age. Unlike ethnic or racial minority group individuals, or Southerners or New Englanders, for example,

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[9]One study, for example, of highly trained scientists and technicians revealed an age bias in their layoffs and reemployment experience — even when technical competence was held constant. See R. P. Loomba, "A Study of the Re-employment and Unemployment Experiences of Scientists and Engineers Laid Off From 62 Aerospace and Electronics Firms in the San Francisco Bay Area," mimeographed report from San Jose State College for the U.S. Department of Labor, n.d.

such persons were not *born* old, and they are less likely to define their problems of income and jobs in terms of any age-group reference.

But this does not detract from the possibility that age, because of current cultural and economic patterns, plays a significant role in the work life of men and women. We now need to launch a systematic reanalysis of those patterns in order to ascertain which factors that created those patterns are truly rational and humane.